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THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

THE

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE,

SOMETIME PREBENDARY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER,

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OF THE

PRINCIPLES

OF

CHRISTIAN TRUTH.

A

PREFACE

TO ALL

CHRISTIAN READERS.

It cannot seem strange, that a man in my case, removed by the force of the war from the service of the Church, should dedicate his time to the consideration of those controversies which cause division in the Church. For what could I do more to the satisfaction of mine own judgment, than to seek a solution[a], what truth it is, the oversight whereof hath divided the Church; and therefore, the sight whereof ought to unite it? But that I should publish the result of my thoughts to the world, this—even to them that cannot but allow my conversing with those thoughts—may seem to fall under the historian's[b] censure; *Frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ est.* That, "to take pains to get nothing but displeasure, is the extremity of madness." Socrates—if we believe his Apology in Plato[c]—could never rest for his genius, always putting him upon disputes, tending to convict men, that they knew not what they thought they knew. The displeasure which this got him, he makes the true cause of his death. The opinion which I

[a] solution, "resolution." MSS. A copy of this work in the possession of the Editor contains sundry corrections of the text, seemingly preparations for another edition. Some of them are to be found also in a copy in the Bodleian Library, and in another in that of C. C. C. Oxford: these have been inserted in the present edition, some in the text, others in the notes; but where the text has been changed the original reading is retained in the notes.

[b] Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin., cap. iii. p. 420. Lipsiæ, 1724.

[c] Ἀλλὰ διὰ τί δήποτε μετ' ἐμοῦ χαίρουσί τινες πολὺν χρόνον διατρίβοντες; ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐγὼ εἶπον ὅτι ἀκούοντες χαίρουσιν ἐξεταζομένοις τοῖς οἰομένοις μὲν εἶναι σοφοῖς, οὖσι δ' οὔ. ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀηδές· ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πράττειν, καὶ ἐξ μαντειῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ᾧπέρ τίς ποτε καὶ ἄλλη θεία μοῖρα ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὁτιοῦν προστάξασα πράττειν. —Cap. xxii. Platon. pp. 336, 337. ed. 1826.

publish, being indeed the fruit of more time and leisure, of less engagement to the world, than others are under, will seem a charge upon those who engage otherwise[d]. And when, besides, so much interest of this world depends upon the divisions of the Church; what am I to expect, but, "great is Diana of the Ephesians?" My apology is this.

[Reasons for writing this book.] § 2. The title of reformation which the late war pretended, mentioned only Episcopacy and the Service. The effect of it was a new Confession of Faith, a new Catechism, a new Directory[e], all new; with chapter and verse indeed, quoted in the margin, but as well over against their own new inventions, as over against the old faith of the Church. This burden was as easily kicked off by the congregations, as laid on by the presbyteries; as carrying, indeed, no conviction with it, but the sword, and what penalties the sword should enforce it with. Which failing, what is come instead of it to warrant the salvation of Christians, but that the Bible is preached,—which, what heresy disowneth?—and by them whom the triers[f] count godly men; make they what they can of it.

§ 3. I, from my nonage, had embraced the Church of England, and attained the order of priesthood in it, upon supposition that it was a true Church, and salvation to be had in it, and by it; owning nevertheless—as the Church of England did own—the Church of Rome for a Church, in which salvation, though more difficult, yet might be had and obtained. That there is no such thing as a Church by God's law, in the nature of a body—which this state of religion requireth—is opposite to an article of my creed, who always 2 thought myself a member of such a body, by being of the Church of England.

§ 4. The issue of that which I have published[g], concerning that title of reformation which the war pretended, was this; that they are schismatics, that concur to the breaking or

[d] "seem an imputation upon those who engage to the contrary."—MSS.

[e] The Confession of Faith, together with the Larger and Lesser Catechisms, composed by the Reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster. 2nd edit., London, 1658, first published in 1650. A Directory for the Public Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. London, 1644.

[f] See Rel. Assembl. Rev., chap. viii. sect. 8.

[g] Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. v. sectt. 82—91.

destroying of the Church of England for those causes. And the objection there necessarily starting, why the Church of England no schismatics, in reforming without the Church of Rome; my answer was, that the cause of reforming must justify the change which it maketh, without consent of the whole Church. For the pretence of infallibility in the Church on the one side, the pretence of the Word and Sacraments, for marks of the Church, on the other side, I hold equally frivolous; as equally declaring a resolution, never to be tried by reason, in that which we always dispute. For what dispute remains, if the decrees of the council of Trent be infallible? If that form of doctrine and ministering the Sacraments, which the reformation may pretend, be marks to distinguish a Church from no Church? If they were, where there is no such form, there are no such marks; and therefore no such thing as a Church. Nor is it so easy to resolve these doubts in men's judgments, as to destroy the laws by which the Church of England stood[h].

§ 5. And if the salvation of a Christian consist in professing the common Christianity, as I shew you at large, shall not the salvation of a divine consist in professing what he hath attained to believe, when he thinks the exigency of the time renders it necessary to the salvation of God's people? How shall he otherwise be ministerial to the work of God's grace, in strengthening them that stand, in comforting and helping the weak, in raising them that are fallen, in resolving the doubtful, without searching the bottom of the cause? Nay, how shall he make reparation for the offences he may have given, by not knowing that which now he thinks he knows?

§ 6. The causes of division have a certain dependence upon common principles, a certain correspondence one with another, which, when it cannot be declared, the satisfaction which a man intends is quite defeated; when it is declared, that dissatisfaction, which the consideration of particulars of less weight causeth, must needs cease. Whether it were the distrust of my own ability, or the love of other employment, or whatsoever it were, that diverted me from considering the consequence of those principles which I always had, till I

[h] "Nor is it so easy to destroy these doubts in men's judgments, as the laws by which the Church of England stood." &c. First edition.

might come to that resolution, which now I declare; neither was I satisfied till I had it, nor, having it, till I had declared it. And if I be like a man with an arrow in his thigh, or like a woman ready to bring forth, that is, as Ecclesiasticus[1] saith, like a fool, that cannot hold what is in his heart, I am in this, I hope, no fool of Solomon's, but, with St. Paul, "a fool for Christ's sake."

§ 7. Now the mischiefs which division in the Church createth being invaluable, all the benefit that I can perceive it yield is this, that the offences which it causeth seem to drown, and swallow up as it were, that offence, which, declaring the truth in another time would produce. For unity in the Church is of so great advantage to the service of God, and that Christianity from whence it proceedeth, that it 3 ought to overshadow and cover very great imperfections in the laws of the Church; all laws being subject to the like. Especially, seeing I maintain that the Church, by divine institution, is in point of right one visible body, consisting in the communion of all Christians, in the offices of God's service; and ought, by human administration, in point of fact to be the same.

§ 8. For the unity of so great a body will not allow that the terms should be strict, or nice, upon which the communion thereof standeth; but obligeth all, that love the general good of it, to pass by even those imperfections in the laws of it which are visible, if not pernicious. But where this unity is once broken in pieces and destroyed, and palliating cures are out of date, the offence which is taken at shewing the true cure, is imputable to them that cause the fraction, not to him that would see it restored. For what disease was ever cured, without offending the body that had it[k]? The cause

[1] "If thou hast heard a word let it die with thee; and be bold it will not burst thee. A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child. As an arrow that sticketh in a man's thigh, so is a word within a fool's belly."—Chap. xix. 10—12.

[k] The anticipations of Mr. Thorndike, as to the offence this work was likely to cause, proved true: for in a letter of Lord Clarendon to Dr. Barwick, we have the opinion of his lordship in the following words:—"And now I am speaking of books, pray tell me what melancholy hath possessed poor Mr. Thorndike, and what do our friends think of his book? And is it possible that he would publish it, without ever imparting it or communicating with them? His name and reputation in learning is too much made use of, to the discountenance of the poor Church; and though it be not in his power to be without some doubts and scruples, I do not know what impulsion of conscience there could be to publish those doubts

of Episcopacy and of the Service is the cause of the whole Church, and the maintenance thereof inferreth the maintenance of whatsoever is Catholic.

§ 9. Owning, therefore, my obligation to the whole Church —notwithstanding my obligation to the Church of England— I have prescribed the consent thereof, for a boundary to all interpretation of Scripture, all reformation in the Church. Referring my opinion, in point of fact, what is Catholic, to them, who, by their title, are bound to acknowledge that whatsoever is Catholic ought to take place. While all English people, by the laws of the Church of England, had sufficient and probable means of salvation ministered to them, it had been a fault to acknowledge a fault, which it was more mischief to mend than to bear with. But when the unity that is lost may as well be obtained by the primitive truth and order of the Catholic Church, as by that which served the turn in the Church of England, because it served to the salvation of more, I should offend good Christians to think that they will stand offended at it.

§ 10. In fine, all variety of religion in England seems to be comprised in three parties, papists, prelatical, and puritans; comprehending under that all parties into which the once common name stands divided. All of them are originally, as I conceive, terms of disgrace; which therefore I have not been delighted with using. This last I have found some cause to frequent, when I would signify something common to all parties of it. If with eagerness at any time, the English proverb says, "Losers may have leave to speak." I find myself disobliged by the papists, in that, desiring to serve God with all Christians, they bar me their communion, by clogging it with conditions inconsistent with our common Christianity.

§ 11. I find myself disobliged by the puritans, in that, desiring to serve God with all Christians, but acknowledging the Catholic Church, I stand obliged by the rule of it not to communicate with heretics or schismatics. I complain for no bene-

to the world, in a time when he might reasonably believe the worst use would be made, and the greatest scandal proceed from them." "The learned Editor of the Life of Dr. Barwick hath put this note:—'Most probably his Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England, &c. printed the same year this letter was wrote, viz. 1659. That was his famous book, and gave much offence.'" Kennett's [illegible] p. 14. London, 1728.

fice, or other advantage. That desiring to communicate with all Christians, I am confined, for opportunity of serving God with His Church, to the scattered remains of the Church of England, is that for which I complain. If, owning this offence, I suffer mine indignation, at the pretence of infallibility or of reformation, to escape from me, I do not therefore intend to revenge myself by words of disgrace. Let him that thinks so call me prelatical, let him use me with no more moderation than I use. In the meantime, I remain secured, that the offence which my opinion may give is imputable, in the sight of God, to those that cause the division.

§ 12. One offence I acknowledge, and cannot help; that I undertake a design of this consequence, and am not able to go through with it as it deserves. I should not have set pen to paper, till my materials had been prepared in writing, that no term might have escaped me unexamined; till the quotations of mine authors had been all before me, so as to need no recourse to the copies. A labour which I have not been able every where to undergo. In fine, till I had cleared all pretence of obscurity or ambiguity in my language. For the obscurity of my matter I am not sorry for. If, writing in English—because here the occasion commences—the reasons by which I determine the sense of the Scriptures in the original, if the consequence of it in some matters seem obscure, I conceive it ought to teach the world that the people are made parties to those disputes, whereof they are not able to be judges. And I am willing to bear the blame of obscure, if that lesson may be learned by the people.

§ 13. The desire of easing my thoughts, by giving them vent, hath resolved me to put them into the world dough-baked, on purpose to provoke the judgments of all parties, for the furnishing of a second edition—if God grant me life—with that which shall be missing in this. I am therefore content to confine myself to the model of an abridgment, and refer myself, for the consent of the Church, to those books which I am best satisfied with, in each point. When that could not be done, I have alleged authorities, which I may call *translatitias*[1], because I lay them down as I find them

[1] Translatitius, qui crebro ex uno in alium locum transfertur; atque adeo non nuper inventus, aut novus, sed aliunde sumptus.—Facciol. Lexic. *in voce.*

alleged; not doubting that I justify my opinion, so far as I desire to do here, that there is no consent of the Church against it. What the sense of the Church is positively, and hath been—into which, I conceive, that which here I say hath made me a fair entrance—I shall, upon examination of particulars, endeavour to give satisfaction in that which may be found missing here. In the meantime, it shall suffice to have advanced thus much towards the common interest of Christianity, in the re-union of the Church.

§ 14. But let no man therefore bode[m] me the lot of reconcilers; to be contradicted on all sides. I profess no such thing. It is enough for the greatest powers in Christendom to undertake. If it be an offence for a man of my years, equally concerned with all Christians in our common Christianity, to say his opinion upon what terms the parties ought to reconcile themselves, it remains that offences remain unreconcileable. But contradiction from all parties I shall not be displeased with. He that will tell me alone in writing, what he finds fault with, and why, shall do a work of charity to me alone. He that will tell the world the same, shall do me the same charity that he does the world in it.

§ 15. He who can delight in that barbarous course, which controversies in religion have been managed with among Christians, by casting personal aspersions, let him rather do it than be silent, provided the stuff he brings be considerable to bear out such inhumanity among civil people. But let him consider the dependencies and concernments of the point he speaks to; let him not say for answer, that these things are answered by our divines[n]. It is easy to make objections, but not easy to clear difficulties. And whether or no these difficulties were clear already, I must refer it to the reader to judge. In the meantime, though no arbitrator, to choose a middle opinion for parties to agree in, I take upon me the person of a divine, in delivering mine opinion what is true, not in confining the parties to a mean.

§ 16. We have seen two men of repute now amongst us

[m] "barr."—First edition.

[n] "A point which is strongly proved by our divines against Papists and Prelates."—The Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Prelacy, p. 5. A.D. 1641. . . . "But this and all other their pretences are answered, and the whole matter of true Church government treated at large many years ago, without a word of reply from the Bishops or their Clergy."—Ib. p. 18.

censure Grotius's labours upon the Scriptures, from which I acknowledge to have received much advantage. The one of them hath made him a Socinian, the other a papist[o]. Both could have given us no better argument that he was neither, than this, that he cannot be both. It is not my intent to bring men's persons into consideration, with the common concernment of Christianity and of God's Church; to his own master he stands or falls. I do but instance in an eminent person, that must needs be a papist, though never reconciled to the Church of Rome; that must needs be a Socinian, though appealing to the original consent of the whole Church; upon which terms, how should there be any such thing as papists or Socinians? I remember an admonition of his bitter adversary Dr. Rivet[p], that the see of Rome will never thank him for what he wrote. And from thence I inferred, as charity obliged me to infer, that the common good of Christianity and of God's Church, obliged him to that for which he was to expect thanks on no side. This for certain; Grotius never lived by maintaining division in the Church. Whether any body doth so or not I say not. Their master will judge them for it if they do.

[Review of the second book of the Epilogue.] § 17. Now, to shew the world that I am in a capacity to

[o] These two persons are John Owen and Richard Baxter: the former in his Epistle Dedicatory of his *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ* writes thus;—"For the first, I must needs tell the apologist [Dr. Hammond] that of all the texts of the New Testament and Old, whereby the Deity of Christ is usually confirmed, and where it is evidently testified unto, he hath not left any more than one, that I have observed, if one, speaking any thing clearly to that purpose. I say, if one, for that he speaks not home to the business in hand on Joh. i. I shall elsewhere give an account; perhaps some one or two more may be interpreted according to the analogy of that. I speak not of his Annotations on the Epistles, but on the whole Bible throughout, wherein his expositions given do for the most part fall in with those of the Socinians, and oftentimes consist in the very words of Socinus and Smalcius, and always do the same things with them, as to any notice of the Deity of Christ in them."—Oxford, 1655.

Baxter wrote a book on the subject, which he called "The Grotian Religion Discovered," in the Preface to which we read, "In the meantime I join with you in charity to Grotius. You vindicate him from popery, and I from dissimulation. Had he been living I think I should have had more thanks from him than you. If I understand him, he took it for his glory to be a member of that body of which the Pope is the head, even to be a Roman Catholic: and therefore would have given you little thanks to vindicate him from such an imputation."—§ 2. London, 1658.

[p] Sic enim sibi gratiam conciliare studebat Jesuitarum, quos jam tum consultores elegerat. Famæ certe multum habuit, et olim laudabilis, ob insignem eruditionem, faciles mores, et alias egregias dotes. Sed totum illud detrivit postquam se Proteum in religione gessit, et susceptam malam causam, etiam eorum judicio qui causæ favent, pessime defendit.—Rivet. Grot. Discuss. Διαλυσις. xviii. § 13. p. 1226. Roterodam. 1660.

recall any thing that I have said, upon due information, I will here pass a review upon that which I have said, to the hardest point that I have spoken to; the agreement of God's foreknowledge and providence with contingence. For I conceive it had need be limited a little further, to be free from offence. That the consideration of the object, which Providence presents a man with, determines the will to every choice that it makes—which I argue at large, II. 24.[q]—may be understood two ways: in the nature of an object—which belongs to the formal cause, when we speak of faculties, habits, and acts, which are specified by their objects, as the schools speak—or in the nature of an effective cause. Not as if the object were not the effective cause, in respect to the act of deliberation; but because, in respect to the act of resolution, or choice, it determineth only as an object, without consideration whereof the choice could not be made; not as a motive, effectively producing the choice.

§ 18. For I acknowledge, in point of reason, that there may be such contingencies as the school[r] calls *ad utrumlibet*, where a man is no more inclined to this side than to that. And
6 in point of faith, I acknowledge, that setting aside the temptations, by which the angels, and our first parents, that fell might be said to incline rather to fall than to stand; as they were created by God, they were not inclined to fall, but to stand. Besides, should I say, that the object effectively determineth the choice, how should I say, that which I take express notice of p. 200[s], that those contingencies, wherein the will inclineth to one side, as balanced by a propensity of disposition towards it—not as every faculty is inclined to the object to which it naturally tends—remain uncertain, as nevertheless contingencies, whatsoever probability that propensity may create? And indeed, though it is a perfection in man's knowledge, rising from the consideration of the object, to say what is like to come to pass, though it fail; yet to God's, which riseth from God alone, it were blasphemy to suppose it to fail, because then God should fail. The infalli-

[q] The second book of the Epilogue.

[r] Liberum vero arbitrium est facultas rationis, et voluntatis, qua bonum eligitur gratia assistente, vel malum eadem desistente. Et dicitur liberum, quantum ad voluntatem, quæ ad utrumlibet flecti potest.—Mag. Sent. ii. 24.

[s] Bk. ii. of the Covenant of chap. xxiv.

bility, therefore, of it, not being derivable from the object, must necessarily be resolved into the infinity, eternity, immensity of that perfection which is His nature, comprehending the future inclination and resolution of that will—moved with a consideration capable to determine it—which nothing but the native freedom thereof effectively determineth.

§ 19. And if it be further demanded, how that reason can stand, which resolveth into that which no man understands; the answer is necessary, that it is an argument of infidelity to demand how, in matters of faith. It is and ought to be sufficient, that it involveth no manner of contradiction, that the thing which may not be, shall certainly be; and therefore, may be known and revealed by God, that it shall come to pass. For if it be a point of perfection rather to know this than not to know it, of necessity God must have it, how little soever we understand how. And therefore, what appearance soever there may be in the motives which the object presenteth, agreeing with the present disposition of the will, that choice will follow; yet so long as it continueth undetermined, though not indifferent—by reason of the agreement between the inclination thereof and the motives tendered—it is always able to determine itself to the contrary of that which it is moved to, though not without appearance of a motive determining it otherwise. And the tender of that motive is that act of providence, in which I say p. 201[t], that God's determining of future contingencies ends; consisting with another, whereby He maintains the will in that ability of taking or refusing, which the creation thereof constituteth.

§ 20. In which case, he who maintaineth that it is not impossible for the infinite wisdom of God, comprehending all things, to see what man will do, shall not derive his foresight from the object, but from His very Godhead; only supposing that it hath proceeded to the work of providence, in purposing to place every man in an estate so circumstanced, as at each moment he comprehendeth. For as man cannot proceed to choose this and not that, not supposing the consideration upon which the choice proceeds—which also must make it a good or a bad choice—so neither doth God foresee His choice, not foreseeing the motive which the object presenteth Him 7

[t] Bk. ii. chap. xxiv.

with. Which, seeing He foreseeth in the purpose of His providence, supposing that perfection of His Godhead, which His proceeding to the same requireth; it is manifest, that, according to this saying, that which He seeth, He seeth in Himself, and not in His creature.

§ 21. Wherefore, I confess, it may be said, that seeing a divine, when he is come thus far, must stay here, and resolve the rest of his inquiries into the vast and bottomless chaos of God's infinite perfections; it had been better to have said so at the first, and never have troubled the reader with a discourse, to prove by the Scriptures, that God considereth the state wherein His providence placeth men, for the ground upon which He forseeth what they will do—which that twenty-fourth chapter containeth.—For why should not our ignorance be as learned at the first as at the last? But that which hath been said, will serve to make the discourse no way superfluous.

§ 22. For contingencies that shall be, though they be nothing before they come to pass, yet is God something, and the purpose of His providence something, for the placing of every man, every moment, in that estate, which thereby He foreseeth. And the possibility of foreseeing what will follow being something—because no contradiction destroys the consistence of the terms—infers by the infinite perfection of God, the actual foresight of what will come to pass, though not in itself, which is nothing, yet in God, Who is all things. And all this involving no predetermination of man's will by God; the discourse cannot be superfluous, which resolveth the foresight of future contingencies into the decree, which supposeth the knowledge of things conditionally future, not which inferreth the foreknowledge of things absolutely future.

§ 23. For by this means, nothing that is found in the Scripture will contradict the substance of faith, which predetermination destroyeth, though disclaiming all possibility of making evidence to common sense, how it may come to pass. And though God's decree to permit sin can be no sufficient ground of His foresight, that what He hindereth not shall come to pass, as I have argued, p. 209[n], yet, if we consider withal, that there is no question of God's permitting any man

[n] Bk. ii. chap. xxv.

to sin, but only him that is prevented with temptation to sin, it may not untruly be said, that God foresees sin in His own decree of permitting it, including the state of him that is tempted, in that case, wherein God decrees to permit sin. In which case, God foreseeth it properly, in His decree of placing the man in that estate, not of suffering him to sin; which, the opinion that I contradict, in that place, absolutely refuseth.

§ 24. And upon these terms, when it is resolved chapter twenty-six, that predestination to the first grace is absolute, you must not understand predestination to the act of conversion, but to the helps which effect it. For whatsoever be the motives upon which a man actually resolves it, in whatsoever circumstance he meets them, nothing but his own freedom determines his conversion, though without those helps, he had not or could not have determined it. And therefore, if it be said, that it is a bar to the prayers and endeavours of those that are moved to be Christians, to tell them, that their resolution depends upon something which is not in their power; to wit, that congruity, wherein the efficacy of grace consisteth; the answer is, that absolutely, whatsoever is requisite to the conversion of him who is called to be a Christian is in his power; though upon supposition of God's foreknowledge, that may be said to be requisite, without which God foresees he will not be converted, when absolutely if he would, he might have been converted, and when, supposing he had been otherwise moved, he would have been converted. In which case, it is absolutely enough to the charging of any man with his duty, that absolutely he wanted nothing requisite to enable him for a right choice; though upon supposition of God's foreknowledge, the doing of his duty requires whatsoever God foresees that it will not be done without it.

§ 25. I have no more to say, but that the contents of the chapters are premised instead of a table, for which they may well serve in books of this nature. And that in regard to the difficulty of the copy, and the ordinary failures of the press, the reader is desired to correct the faults that are marked before he begin, and to serve himself in the rest.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

ALL AGREE, THAT REASON IS TO DECIDE CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH. THE OBJECTION, THAT FAITH IS TAUGHT BY GOD'S SPIRIT, ANSWERED. WHAT REASON DECIDETH QUESTIONS OF FAITH. THE RESOLUTION OF FAITH ENDS NOT IN THE LIGHT OF REASON, BUT IN THAT WHICH REASON EVIDENCETH TO COME FROM GOD'S MESSENGERS.

All agree that reason is to decide controversies of faith.

THE first thing that we are to question in the beginning is, whether there be any means to resolve, by the use of reason, those controversies which cause division in the Church? Which is all one, as if we undertook to enquire, whether there be any such skill or knowledge, as that for which men call themselves divines; for if there be, it must be the same in England as at Rome. And if it have no principles—as no principles it can have, unless it can be resolved what those principles are—then is it a bare name, signifying nothing. But if there be certain principles which all parties are obliged to admit, that discourse which admits no other will certainly produce that resolution, in which all shall be obliged to agree. And truly this hope there is left, that all parties do necessarily suppose, that there is means to resolve by reason of all differences of faith; inasmuch as all undertake to persuade all, by reason, to be of the judgment of each one, and would be thought to have reason on their side, when so they do; and that reason is not done them when they are not believed.

The objection that faith is taught by God's Spirit,

§ 2. There are indeed many passages of Scripture, which say, that faith is only taught by the Spirit of God: Mat. xvi. 17. "Blessed art thou Peter son of Jonas, for flesh and blood revealed not this to thee, but My Father which is in the heavens." xi. 25. "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and

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answered. § 3. But this difficulty is easy for him to resolve, that distinguishes between the reason that moveth in the nature of an object, and that motion which the active cause produceth. For the motion of an object supposes that consideration, which discovers the reason why we are to believe. But the motion of the Holy Ghost, in the nature of an active cause, 2 proceeds without any notice that we take of it: according to the saying of our Lord to Nicodemus, John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and a man hears the noise of it, but cannot tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." For we must know, that there may be sufficient reason to evict the truth of Christianity, and yet prove ineffectual to induce the most part either inwardly to believe, or outwardly to profess it.

§ 4. The reason consists in two things: for neither is the matter of faith evident to the light of reason, which we bring into the world with us; and the cross of Christ, which this profession draws after it, necessarily calls in question that estate which every man is settled upon in the world. So that no marvel if the reasons of believing fail of that effect, which for their part they are sufficient to produce; interest diverting the consideration, or intercepting the consequence of such troublesome truth, and the motives that enforce it. The same is the reason why the Christian world is now so barren of the fruits of Christianity: for the profession of it—which

is all the laws of the world can enjoin—is the common privilege, by which men hold their estates: which it is no marvel those men should make use of, that have neither resolved to embrace Christ with His Cross, nor considered the reason they have to do it: who if they should stick to that which they profess, when the protection of the law fails, or act according to it when it would be [a] disadvantage to them in the world so to do, should do a thing inconsequent to their own principles, which carried them no further than that profession, which the law whereby they hold their estates protecteth. The true reason of all apostasy in all trials.

§ 5. As for the truth of Christianity, can they that believe a God above, refuse to believe His messengers, because that which they report stands not in the light of any reason to evidence it? Matter of faith is evidently credible, but cannot be evidently true. Christianity supposes sufficient reason to believe; but not standing upon evidence in the thing, but upon credit of report, the temptation of the Cross may easily defeat the effect of it, if the grace of Christ and the operation of the Holy Ghost interpose not. Upon this account the knowledge of God's truth revealed by Christ may be the work of His grace, according to the Scriptures—for that so it is, I am not obliged, neither have I any reason here, to suppose, being to come in question hereafter, for the principles, which here we seek, to decide—but supposing sufficient reason propounded to make it evidently credible. And he that alleges God's Spirit, for what he cannot shew sufficient reason to believe otherwise, may thank himself, if he perish by believing that, which he cannot oblige another man to believe.

What reason decideth questions of faith.

§ 6. Here we must make a difference between those men whom God employs to deal with other men in His name, and those which come to God by their means. For of the first, it is enough to demand, how it appears that they come from God. To demand by what means He makes His will known to them—supposing they come from Him—is more than needs, at least in this place. For if it be granted me, that the Apostles and prophets were the messengers of God, suppose I cannot tell how prophesies are made evident to the souls of them, to whom the Spirit of God reveals them; nobody will question, whether or no he ought to believe those

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whom he acknowledges God's messengers. And therefore it will be no prejudice to my purpose, to set aside all curious dispute, how and by what means God reveals His message to those, whom by such revelations He makes prophets.

§ 7. But those that derive their knowledge from the report of such as are believed to come from God, must as well give account how they know that which they believe to come from such report, as why such report is to be believed. For if we believe that God furnished those whom He employed with sufficient means to make it appear that they came on His message, we can dispute no further why their report is to be believed. If we believe it not, there will be no cause why those who pretend themselves to be God's messengers, should not be neglected as fools, or rejected as impostors; nay, there will be no cause why we should be Christians, upon 3 the report of those, that shew us not sufficient reason to receive them for God's messengers. But this being admitted and believed, unless evidence can be made what was delivered by them that came on God's message, it is in vain to impose any thing on the faith of them that are ready to receive whatsoever comes upon that score. The resolution then of all controversies in religion, which the Church is divided about, consists in making evidence, what hath been delivered by them, whom all Christians believe, that God sent to man on His message.

The resolution of faith ends not in the light of reason, but in that which reason evidenceth to come from God's messengers.

§ 8. And therefore there will remain no great difficulty about the force and use of reason in matters of faith, if we consider that it is one thing to resolve them by such principles as the light of reason evidenceth, another to do it by the use of reason, evidencing what God's messengers have delivered to us. For all dispute, in point of faith, tends only to evidence what we have received from the authors of our faith. Till that evidence come, doubt remaineth; when it is come, it vanisheth. Without the use of reason this evidence is not made, though not by that which the light of nature discovereth, yet by those helps which reason employeth, to make it appear what we have received from those from whom we received our Christianity; which, without those helps, did not appear. But if competition fall out between that which is thus evidenced to come from God, on the one side, and on

the other side the light of reason seeming evidently to contradict the truth of it; first, we are certain that this competition or contradiction is only in appearance, because both reason and revelation is from God, who cannot oblige us to make contradictory resolutions: then there is no help, without the use of reason, to unmask this appearance. I will not here go about to control that which may be alleged on either side, in any particular point, by any general prejudice; choosing rather to refer the debate to that particular question in which cause of competition may appear, than to presume upon any thing which the truth of Christianity—the only supposition which hitherto I premise—appeareth not to contain. Only this I will prescribe; it is not the exception of a Christian to say, that which the light of reason evidenceth not to be possible is not true, though commended to us by the same reasons which move us to be Christians. For the nature of God, the counsels of God, the works of God, being such things as man's understanding hath no skill of, till it be enlightened by God from above; that sense of God's oracles, which the motives of faith do enforce, is no less undisputable, than it is undisputable whether that which God saith be true or not, who enacts His revelations by those motives. CHAP. II.

CHAPTER II.

THE QUESTION BETWEEN THE SCRIPTURE AND THE CHURCH, WHICH OF THEM IS JUDGE IN MATTERS OF FAITH. WHETHER OPINION THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH STANDS BETTER WITH. THOSE THAT HOLD THE SCRIPTURE TO BE CLEAR IN ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION, HAVE NO REASON TO EXCLUDE THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH. WHAT OPINIONS THEY ARE, THAT DENY THE CHURCH TO BE A SOCIETY OR CORPORATION BY GOD'S LAW.

The question between the Scripture and the Church, which of them is judge in matters of fa

THE cure of all diseases comes from the sound ingredients of nature, when they get the upper hand, and restore nature by expelling that which was against it. Neither can the divisions and distempers of the Church be cured, but by the common truth which the parties acknowledge, when the right understanding of it clears the mistakes which man's weakness

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tainteth it with. There is a sufficient stock of sound principles left all the parties, which I mean, when all of them acknowledge the Scriptures, that is, so much of them as all agree to contain the word of God. But supposing the truth of them to come from God, first it remains in difference how the meaning of them may be determined when doubt is made of it? And then, because nothing but the true meaning of the Scripture can be counted Scripture, if there be a way to determine that, whether any thing over and above it is to be received for the word of God with it? Concerning which point, it is well enough known what opinions there are on foot. When Luther first disputed against the indulgences of Pope Leo X., those that appeared in defence of them—the master of the Pope's palace[a], and Eckius[b]—finding themselves scanted of matter to allege out of the Scriptures, betook themselves to the common place of the Church, and the power of it; the force whereof stood upon this consequence, that whatsoever the Church shall decree, is to be received for unquestionable. Afterwards, certain articles extracted out of Luther's writings being condemned by a bull of the Pope, Luther[c] interposes

[a] Ecclesia universalis essentialiter est convocatio in divinum cultum omnium credentium in Christum. Ecclesia vero universalis virtualiter est Ecclesia Romana, Ecclesiarum omnium caput, et Pontifex maximus. Ecclesia Romana representative est collegium cardinalium, virtualiter autem est Pontifex summus, qui est Ecclesiæ caput, aliter tamen quam Christus.

Quicunque non innititur doctrinæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ac Romani Pontificis tanquam regulæ fidei infallibili, a qua etiam sacra Scriptura robur trahit et autoritatem, hæreticus est.

Qui circa indulgentias dicit Ecclesiam Romanam non posse facere id quod de facto facit, hæreticus est. The Master of the Palace was Silvester Prierias; his Dialogue against Luther—from the preface to which the foregoing passages are taken—is printed among Luther's works.—Tom. i. fol. 159. Witebergæ, 1558.

[b] Non sunt igitur solum credenda et servanda—id quod volunt Lutherani—quæ expresse habentur in divinis litteris, aut probantur ex ipsis, verum etiam ea oportet credere et servare quæ sancta mater Ecclesia credit et observat. Non enim omnia tradita sunt manifeste in sacris Scripturis, sed quam plurima Ecclesiæ—quæ a Spiritu Sancto illustratur et gubernatur—et ob id a veritatis tramite errare nequit—determinanda relicta sunt.—Eckii Enchirid. loc. Comm. pp. 63, 64. Colon. Agrippin. 1600.

[c] In nomine Domini, Amen.

. . . . . In mea Notarii publici testiumque infra Scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum præsentia, constitutus reverendus Pater Dominus Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus Wittembergensis, Sacræ Theologiæ Magister, ac ibidem Lector ordinarius Theologiæ, principalis ac principaliter pro se ipso, citra tamen quorumcumque procuratorum suorum quomodo libet hactenus per eum constitutorum revocationem habens, et tenens suis in manibus quandam provocationis et appellationis papyri schedulam, animo et intentione provocandi et appellandi, apostolosque petendi, dicens, narrans, provocans, et appellans, certis et legitimis de causis in eadem schedula contentis et comprehensis, ad concilium proxime et immediate futurum saltem in Spiritu Sancto congregatum, aliis vero congregationibus factionibus et concionibus privatis penitus

his appeal to a council, that should decree according to the Scripture alone.

[The Roman resolution of the question.]

§ 2. This is the rise of the great controversy still on foot, between the Church and the Scripture; between Scripture, and the tradition of the Church, of what force each of them is in deciding controversies of faith. They that hold the Church to be the only infallible judge of all controversies of faith, necessarily suppose that the Church is, by God's appointment, that is, *Jure divino*, a corporation, society, or body of men, visible though not civil; because standing upon God's will, revealed in order to the happiness of the world to come: in which society—because in no society all that are interested can act for themselves—it behoveth that there be a public authority vested in some persons or bodies, the act whereof may oblige the whole. And thus it may and must be understood, that the Church is maintained to be judge in controversies of faith, by the definitive sentence of those that have authority to oblige the body; whether pope or council, we dispute not here, or what else may be imagined: for that, as all other controversies in religion, is to be decided by the resolution of the point now in hand, what is the means to determine by reason all such differences. Which if it could not be decided without supposing whose authority is to tie the Church, there could be no end of differences in the Church, whatsoever there will be. Here is then an opinion[d] famous enough, that the Church is endowed with a gift of infallibility; by virtue whereof, whatsoever sentence is passed by them that are authorized on behalf of the Church, becomes

seclusis.—Luther. Opp. tom. i. fol. 231. Witteberg. 1558. Henry VIII. remarks thus on this appeal,—"Homo cautus appellavit ad generale concilium, nec tamen quodlibet sed quod proxime congregaretur in Spiritu Sancto, ut in quocunque damnaretur, ibi negaret esse Spiritum Sanctum, quem homo sanctus et spiritalis nusquam fatetur esse nisi in sinu suo.—Assert. Sept. Sacram. fol. 75, 76. Londini, 1521. Lutherus autem omnia se facturum et passurum dicebat, si modo Scripturæ Sanctæ niterentur auctoritate . . . . . Abeuntes illi jusserunt melius deliberare, et a prandio redeuntes, petierunt, ut saltem concilii futuri judicio sua submitteret. Et hoc permisit, sed ita, ut ipso sciente aliquot extraherentur articuli, de quibus concilium sententiam ferret, Scripturæ et verbi Divini testimonio.—Cochlæi Acta et Scripta Lutheri, ad ann. 1521. fol. 63, 64. Colon. 1568. See also Thorndike, de Ratione finiend. Controv., cap. i. p. 2. Londini, 1670.

[d] Dicimus vocem docentis et attestantis Ecclesiæ non mere humanam esse, sed potius suo modo Divinam: ut videlicet quod Ecclesia judicat, determinat, et definit in causa fidei; illud non pro humano, sed pro Divino decreto et judicio, a cunctis fidelibus accipiendum sit.—Stapleton. Princip. Fid. Controv., iv. lib. viii. cap. xvi. p. 301. Paris, 1582.

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matter of faith, and obliges all men to receive it, by the same reason for which they receive the Christian faith.

[The Protestant theory.]

§ 3. Now they, who, in opposition to this opinion, do maintain[e] the Scriptures to be the only judge in controversies of faith, do involve, in this opposition, an equivocation manifest enough: for it is manifest that their intent is to render a reason, by this position, why they submit not to that sentence, which condemneth their positions in the name of the Church; to wit, because it is contrary to the Scriptures: and further, why they withdraw themselves from the communion of that Church which condemneth them, and join in communion grounded upon the profession of the positions condemned, maintaining themselves thereupon to be the true Church of God, and those that condemn them the corrupt and counterfeit. Whereby it appeareth, that in effect they do maintain, that there is no judge provided by God to be visible in His Church with the gift of infallibility. But that they are themselves, and ought to be, judges, to condemn all sentences given against the Scripture, by any authority established in the Church. By which means the Scripture becomes no more the judge, but the rule, or the law, by which men are to judge; whether they are to stand to such sentences, as are given in the name of the Church, or not.

Whether opinion the tradition of the Church stands better with.

§ 4. Now if the Scripture be the law or the rule by which controversies of faith are to be judged, there will be no pretence to exclude any means that may serve as evidence to clear the meaning of it. And therefore, there will be no cause why the tradition of the Church should not be joined with the Scripture, in deciding controversies of faith—not disputing hitherto whether or no it contain any thing that the Scripture containeth not—to clear and to determine the sense of the Scripture. Whereas, they that maintain[f] the sentence of the

[e] At nos controversiarum de religione judicem putamus esse Scripturam: de Scriptura autem judicare nulli nisi Scripturæ atque ex Scriptura licet. Nam ut Deum trahere ad tribunal hominis summæ est dementiæ, sic homo nullus de verbo Dei ex authoritate sua judicare debet. Fassus sane sum habere Ecclesiam ampliorem copiam Spiritus, quam privatus quisque habet; sed nec privatum quenquam, nec ipsam Ecclesiam, judicem facio Scripturarum.—Whitaker. de Author. SS. Scripturæ, lib. iii. p. 430. Genev. 1610.

[f] Nam si tollamus auctoritatem præsentes Ecclesiæ, et præsentis concilii, in dubium revocari poterunt omnium aliorum conciliorum decreta, et tota fides Christiana. Semper enim hæc fuit consuetudo apud Christianos, ut exortas controversias definirent Epi-

present Church to be the reason of believing, can no way resolve their belief into the tradition of the Catholic Church; because that supposes only the act of our Lord and His Apostles delivering to the Church that which it holdeth; which whoso supposeth, can allege no other reason why he believeth; and therefore, the sentence of the present Church cannot be the reason, why any man should believe that, which there was reason from the beginning to believe without it.

§ 5. They who to exclude the tradition of the Church state this position upon these terms, that all things necessary to

§ Those that hold the Scripture to be clear in all things necessary to salvation,

scopi, qui tunc vivebant. Et præterea omnium conciliorum veterum, et omnium dogmatum firmitas pendet ab auctoritate præsentis Ecclesiæ. Non enim habemus testimonium infallibile, quod concilia illa fuerint, et legitima fuerint, et hoc, aut illud definierint, nisi quia Ecclesia, quæ nunc est, et errare non potest, ita sentit, et docet. Quod enim historici quidam meminerint eorum conciliorum, non potest parere fidem, nisi humanam, cui potest subesse falsum.—Bellarmin. de Sacrament., lib. ii. cap. 25. col. 202. Colon. Agrippin. 1619.

Illud vero demonstrandum est, Ecclesiam fidelium nunc viventium, non quidem scribere canonicum librum posse, sed definire, an liber, de quo disputatio est, canonicus sit an non. Quia definitio dubiorum, quæ circa fidem modo exoriuntur, ad præsentem Ecclesiam pertinet. Oportet enim judicem vivum in Ecclesia esse, qui fidei controversias decidere possit—Siquidem Deus in necessariis Ecclesiæ suæ non defuit—At librum esse canonicum, necne, fidem maxime tangit. Ad Ecclesiam igitur hujus temporis hujus rei judicium pertinebit. Nam si errores, qui sanæ doctrinæ adversantur, Ecclesia, quæ nunc est, condemnare nequit, profecto judicibus de medio sublatis, hujus sæculi hæretici impune vivere, atque adeo repugnare possunt. —Melchior. Cani, de loc. Theolog., lib. ii. cap. vii. fol. 26. p. 2. Colon. Agrippin. 1585.

ǂ Summa Scripturæ totius, quæ consistit in præceptis Decalogi, Symbolo, oratione Dominica et Sacramentis aperta testimonia habet in Scripturis, ergo, clara est Scriptura. Jesuita hanc adjungit conclusionem, ergo tota Scriptura est manifesta, et negat consequentiam. *Respondeo.* Si per totam Scripturam singula Scripturæ loca intelligat, nos non ita argumentamur: sin per totam Scripturam significet summam doctrinæ cuivis ad salutem necessariæ, tum agnoscimus argumentum, et totam esse claram dicimus. . . . . .

Hoc discrimen est inter Vetus ac Novum Testamentum, quod Vetus Testamentum sit instar libri clausi ac signati, ut habetur Isai. xxix. 11. Novum vero Testamentum sit instar libri aperti, ut legimus, Apoc. v. Hoc argumento non utimur, ut probemus totam Scripturam veteri populo Judaico obscuram atque ignotam fuisse; sed ut doceamus multo clariorem jam esse Christianorum cognitionem quam fuit olim Judæorum. Respondet Jesuita, et ait hoc esse verum, non de tota Scriptura, sed de mysteriis tantum redemptionis nostræ, quæ per Christum facta est. *Respondeo.* Si fateatur Scripturam esse instar libri aperti, quoad mysteria redemptionis nostræ, nihil certe amplius est quod postulemus. Ex eo enim continuo sequetur, omnia esse in Scripturis manifesta, quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria, quod est fundamentum nostræ defensionis.—Whitaker. Controver. I. de Script. Authoritat., quæst. iv. cap. iv. p. 342. Genev. 1610.

"All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all: yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them."—Art. VII. Declaration of the Faith and Order of the Congregational Churches agreed at the Savoy, Oct. 12, 1658. p. 1

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salvation are clearly contained in the Scriptures; pretending to limit the generality of the question, put it upon an issue not to be tried, till we have resolved what means there is to determine the meaning of the Scripture. For to be necessary to salvation is to be true, and something more: so that nothing can appear necessary to salvation till it can appear to be true: nor appear to be true, until it can be resolved what means there is to distinguish between true and false. Besides, how unlimited this limitation is may appear by this, because whatsoever is clear, is said to be clear in relation to some sight; and there is so much difference between the sight of several Christians, that nothing can be said to be clear to all, because it is clear to some. And that which is not clear to all whose salvation is concerned in it, what avails it those to whom it is not clear?

have no reason to exclude the tradition of the Church.

§ 6. Now I suppose those that advance these terms will not grant that nothing is necessary to salvation that may be questioned by an argument out of the Scripture, which all Christians cannot answer; knowing that such things as themselves hold necessary to salvation may be assaulted by such reasons out of the Scripture as they do not think all Christians fit to resolve. Besides, they do not pretend that all things necessary to salvation are clear in the Scripture of themselves, but by consequence of reason, which may make them clear. Now he that would draw true consequences from the Scripture, had need be well informed of the matter of that Scripture which he draws into consequence. And to that information how can it appear that any thing is more necessary than the tradition of the Church? Therefore though I say not yet whether it be true or false that all things necessary to salvation are clearly contained in the Scriptures, yet at the present I say that this is not the prime truth which must give a reason of all that follows upon it, but demands a reason to be given for it, by those principles upon which the resolution of all matters of faith depends.

[What both sides take for granted.]

§ 7. All this while we agree upon the supposition that the Church is a society of men subsisting by God's revealed will, distinct from all other societies. Because, as I said, those that have departed from the Church of Rome have hitherto pretended their own communion to be the true Church. For

if it be said that they do not, or scarce ever did agree, in communion one with another, so that they can pretend to constitute all one Church, that is not because they do not think that they ought all to constitute one Church, but because they agree not upon the conditions; each part thinking that the other doth not believe as those whom they may communicate with ought to believe. But this is now manifestly contradicted by two opinions among us, though the one can be no sect, the other as yet appears not to be one.

What opinions they are, that deny the Church to be a society or corporation by God's law.

§ 8. The first is that of them that think themselves above ordinances[h]; the communion of the Church only obliging proficients, and every perfect Christian being to himself a Church. Of these, I said, there can be no sect, as communicating in nothing visible, as Christians. But I need not have recourse to such an obscure sect as this: for the same is necessarily the opinion of all the sect that makes every congregation independent and sovereign in Church matters. For if particular congregations be not obliged to join in communion to the constitution of one Church, we may perhaps understand the collection of all congregations to be signified at once, by the name of the Church; but we cannot imagine that the Church, so understood, can be obliged by any sentence that can pass in it. And if this opinion be true, it must be acknowledged—as of late years it hath been disputed amongst us[i]—that there is no crime of schism in violating the unity of the Church, but when a breach is made in a congre-

[h] Lord Clarendon speaks of Sir Henry Vane as being one of these: "Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagancies of every sect or faction; and was become—which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time—*a man above ordinances*, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast; and without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding—which in all matters without the verge of religion was inferior to that of few men—that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years."—Hist. of the Rebellion, bk. xvi. See the Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, p. 43. London, 1662.

[i] "The schism then here described by the Apostle, and blamed by him, consists in causeless differences, and contentions amongst the members of a particular Church, contrary to that of love, prudence and forbearance, which are required of them to be exercised amongst themselves, and towards one another, which is also termed στάσις Acts xv. 21. and διχοστασία Rom. xvi. 13. And he is a schismatic that is guilty of this sin of schism, that is, who raiseth or entertaineth or persisteth in such differences; nor are these terms used by the Divine Writers in any other sense."—John Owen's Of Schism, chap. ii. § 1657.

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gation, obliged to communicate one with another in Church matters. For where there is no bond of unity, what crime can there be in dissolving it? This is then the ground of all independent congregations, that there is no such thing as the Church, understanding by the name of the Church a society or corporation founded upon a charter of God's, which signification the addition of Catholic and Apostolic in our creed hath hitherto been thought to determine. 6

[The opinion of Hobbes.]

§ 9. But there is a second opinion in the Leviathan, who allows all points of ecclesiastical power in excommunicating, ordaining, and the rest, to the sovereign powers that are Christian; though before the empire was Christian, he granteth that the Churches—that is to say, the several bodies of Christians that were dwelling in several cities—had and exercised some parts of the same right by virtue of the Scriptures. As you may see p. 274—276, 287—292[j]. Making that right which the Scriptures give them for the time, to escheat to the civil power, when it is Christian, and dissolving the said Churches into the state or commonwealth which, once Christian, is from thenceforth the Church. And this, I suppose, upon this ground—though he doth not expressly allege it to that purpose—because the Scripture hath not the force of a law, obliging any man in justice to receive it, till sovereign powers make it such to their subjects, but only contains good advice, which he that will may embrace for his soul's health, and he that will not at his peril may refuse. Thus he teacheth, p. 205, 281—287[k].

[j] The whole passage is too long for insertion in a note: the following may be taken as its general purport—"The sentence therefore, by which a man was put out of the Church, was pronounced by the Apostle, or pastor, but the judgment concerning the merit of the cause was in the Church, that is to say—as the times were before the conversion of kings, and men that had sovereign authority in the commonwealth—the assembly of the Christians dwelling in the same city; as in Corinth, in the assembly of the Christians of Corinth. . . . . Excommunication, therefore, when it wanteth the assistance of the civil power, as it doth when a Christian state or prince is excommunicated by a foreign authority, is without effect, and consequently ought to be without terror.

"By which it is evident, that Bishop, pastor, elder, doctor, that is to say, teacher, were but so many divers names of the same office, in the time of the Apostles. For there was then no government by coercion, but only by doctrine and persuading. The kingdom of God was yet to come in a new world; so that there could be no authority to compel in any Church, till the commonwealth had embraced the Christian faith; and consequently no diversity of authority, though there were diversity of employments."—Leviathan, part 3. chap. 42. London, 1651.

[k] "He therefore to whom God hath not supernaturally revealed, that they

§ 10. If therefore the act of sovereign power give the Scripture the force of law, then hath it a just claim to all

are His, nor that those that published them, were sent by Him, is not obliged to obey them, by any authority, but his, whose commands have already the force of laws; that is to say by any other authority than that of the commonwealth, residing in the sovereign, who only has the legislative power. Again, if it be not the legislative authority of the commonwealth, that giveth them the force of laws, it must be some other authority derived from God, either private or public: if private, it obliges only him, to whom in particular God hath been pleased to reveal it: ..... If public, it is the authority of the commonwealth or of the Church, but the Church if it be one person, is the same thing with a commonwealth of Christians; called a commonwealth, because it consisteth of men united in one person, their sovereign, and a Church, because it consisteth in Christian men, united in one Christian Sovereign."—Leviathan, part 3. chap. 33. p. 205. London, 1651.

"It was therefore only Moses then, and after him the high-priest, whom, by Moses, God declared should administer this His peculiar kingdom, that had on earth the power to make this short Scripture of the Decalogue to be law in the commonwealth of Israel. But Moses and Aaron and the succeeding high priests were the civil sovereigns. Therefore, hitherto, the canonizing or making of the Scripture law, belonged to the civil sovereign." p. 282.

"The judicial law ..... for the rule of their administration of justice, ... and the Levitical law ..... became laws by virtue of the same promise of obedience to Moses. Whether these laws were then written or not written, but dictated to the people by Moses—after his being forty days with God in the mount—by word of mouth, is not expressed in the text, but they were all positive laws, and equivalent to holy Scripture, and made canonical by Moses the civil sovereign." p. 283.

"This was the law which Moses Deuter. xvii. 18. commanded the kings of Israel should keep a copy of: and this is the law, which having been long time lost, was found again in the temple in the time of Josiah, and by his authority received for the law of God. But both Moses at the writing, and Josiah at the recovery thereof, had both of them the civil sovereignty. Hitherto therefore the power of making Scripture canonical, was in the civil sovereign."

"Beside this book of the law, there was no other book from the time of Moses, till after the captivity, received amongst the Jews for the law of God." ..... p. 283.

"From hence we may infer, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which we have at this day, were not canonical, nor a law unto the Jews till the renovation of their covenant with God at their return from the captivity, and restoration of their commonwealth under Esdras. But from that time forward they were accounted the law of the Jews, and for such translated into Greek by seventy elders of Judæa, and put into the library of Ptolemy at Alexandria, and approved for the word of God. Now seeing Esdras was the high priest, and the high priest was their civil sovereign, it is manifest that the Scriptures were never made laws, but by the sovereign civil power."

"..... It was not the Apostles that made their own writings canonical, but every convert made them so to himself.

"But the question here is, not what any Christian made a law, or canon to himself—which he might again reject, by the same right he received it—but what was so made a canon to them, as without injustice they could not do any thing contrary thereunto. That the New Testament should in this sense be canonical, that is to say, a law in any place where the law of the commonwealth had not made it so, is contrary to the nature of a law. p. 284. Seeing then our Saviour and His Apostles left not new laws to oblige us in this world, but new doctrine to prepare us for the next, the books of the New Testament, which contain that doctrine, until obedience to them was commanded, by them that God had given power to on earth to be legislators, were not obligatory canons, that is, laws, but only good and safe advice, for the direction of sinners in the way to salvation, which every man might take, and refuse at his own peril, without injustice."

"Again, our Saviour C
mission to His Apostle
ciples was to proclaim

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rights and powers founded upon the Scripture, as derived from it, and therefore vested originally in it. Hence followeth that desperate inference, concerning the right of civil power in matter of religion—not for a Christian but for an apostate to publish—that if the sovereign command a Christian to renounce Christ, and the faith of Christ, he is bound to do it with his mouth, but to believe with his heart. And therefore, much more to obey whatsoever he commandeth in religion besides, whether to believe or to do. The reason; because in things not necessary to salvation, the obedience due by God's and man's law to the sovereign, must take place. Now there is nothing necessary to salvation, saith he, but to believe that our Lord Jesus is the Christ. All that the Scripture commandeth besides this is but the law of nature, which when the civil law of every land hath limited, whosoever observes that law cannot fail of fulfilling the law of nature. These things you have p. 322—331[1].

..... They had not in commission to make laws, but to obey, and teach obedience to laws made; and consequently they could not make their writings obligatory canons, without the help of the sovereign civil power. And therefore the Scripture of the New Testament is there only law, where the lawful civil power hath made it so. ..... p. 285.

"Seeing then the acts of council of the Apostles were then no laws but counsels, much less are laws the acts of any other doctors, or councils since, if assembled without the authority of the civil sovereign. And consequently the books of the New Testament, though most perfect rules of Christian doctrine, could not be made laws by any other authority than that of kings or sovereign assemblies."—Leviathan, part 3. chap. 42. p. 287. London, 1651.

[1] "All that is necessary to salvation is contained in two virtues, faith in Christ and obedience to laws. .....

"But what commandments are those that God hath given us? Are all those laws which were given to the Jews by the hand of Moses the commandments of God? If they be, why are not Christians taught to obey them? If they be not, what others are so, beside the law of nature? For our Saviour Christ hath not given us new laws, but counsel to observe those we are subject to, that is to say, the laws of nature and the laws of our several sovereigns. Nor did He make any new law to the Jews in His sermon on the mount, but only expounded the laws of Moses, to which they were subject before. The laws of God are therefore none but the laws of nature, whereof the principal is, that we should not violate our faith, that is a commandment to obey our civil sovereigns, which we constituted over us, by mutual pact one with another. And this law of God that commandeth obedience to the law civil, commandeth by consequence obedience to all the precepts of the Bible; which as I have proved in the precedent chapter, is there only law, where the civil sovereign hath made it so; and in other places but counsel, which a man at his own peril may without injustice refuse to obey. ..... p. 322.

"The *unum necessarium*, only article of faith, which the Scripture maketh simply necessary to salvation, is this, that Jesus is the Christ. ..... p. 324.

"The belief of this article is sufficient, and by consequence there is no other article of faith necessarily required to salvation." p. 328.

"Having thus shewn what is necessary to salvation, it is not hard to reconcile our obedience to God with our obedience to the civil sovereign, who is either Christian or infidel. If he be a

CHAP. II.

[Selden's theories.]

§ 11. The late learned Selden in his first book de *Synedriis Judæorum*, p. 243, 244, maintaining Erastus's opinion, that there is no power of excommunicating in the Church by God's law, grants—that which could not be denied—that the Church did exercise such a power before Constantine, but not by any charter of God's, but by free consent of Christians among themselves[m]. Which, if he will follow the grain of his own reason, he is consequently to extend to the power of ordaining, and to all other rights which the Church, as a corporation founded by God, can claim by God's law. And upon this ground he may dissolve the Church into the commonwealth, and make the power of it an escheat to the civil power that is Christian, with less violence than the Leviathan

Christian, he alloweth the belief of this article, that Jesus is the Christ, and of all the articles that are contained in, or are by evident consequence deduced from it; which is all the faith necessary to salvation. And because he is a sovereign, he requireth obedience to all his own, that is, to all the civil laws; in which also are contained all the laws of nature, that is, all the laws of God: for beside the laws of nature, and the laws of the Church, which are part of the civil law—for the Church that can make laws is the commonwealth—there be no other laws divine. Whosoever therefore obeyeth his Christian sovereign, is not thereby hindered, neither from believing, nor from obeying God. . . . . And in case a subject be forbidden by the civil sovereign to profess some of those his opinions, upon what just grounds can he disobey? Christian kings may err in deducing a consequence, but who shall judge? Shall a private man judge when the question is of his own obedience? . . . . .

"And when the civil sovereign is an infidel, every one of his own subjects that resisteth him, sinneth against the laws of God—for such are the laws of nature—and rejecteth the counsel of the Apostles, that admonisheth all Christians to obey their princes, and all children and servants to obey their parents and masters in all things. And for their faith it is internal and invisible, they have the license that Naaman had, and need not put themselves into danger for it. But if they do they ought to expect their reward in heaven, and not complain of their lawful sovereign, much less make war upon him. For he that is not glad of any just occasion of martyrdom has not the faith he professeth, but pretends it only to set some color upon his own contumacy."—Leviathan, part 3. chap. 43. London, 1651.

[m] A Nerone quidem usque in Apostolicorum temporum finem uti et postea diu Christianos, ut Judæorum sectam non tolerandam persequebantur plerumque quidem Cæsares Romani; ita tamen ut extra ipsius professionis eorum limites, reliqua cum Judæis reliquis haberent ex jure tunc Cæsareo communia. Quantum vero ex jure Cæsareo seu publico eis sic negatum aut non concessum, non dubito quin inter se supplerent ipsi ex jure privato seu pactis ac conventis, etiam juramento firmatis, quæ ad disciplinam suam singularem tuendam inirent, quemadmodum vetustiores item alibi Judæi, ... Certe vestigia pactorum ejusmodi inter se sub eadem ipsa tempora habemus non ita obscura in Plinii secunda epistola ad Trajanum . . . . . Atque juxta ejusmodi *συνθήκας* pacta ac inter se conventa eorumque itidem jura degebant Christiani postea ac ante Constantinum, qua de re item capite proximo. Hæc si ita se haberent —nec aliter sane se habuisse videtur mihi concipiendum—adeoque tam jure Cæsareo quam Judaico excommunicatio Christianismi illius primitivi præter mutuam invicem reverentiam, pacta inter se inita, ac disciplinam confederatam, sic subniteretur fundareturque, difficile non erit de ejusdem tunc effectu statuere.—cap. viii. pp. 131, 132. Amstel. 1679. The pages in the text refer to the London editi

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doth, because whatsoever corporations or fraternities are bodied by sufferance of the state, dissolve of themselves at the will of it, and resolve the powers which they have created into the disposition of it. And that this was his intent, whoso considereth what he hath written of the endowment of the Church in his History of Tithes[n]; of ordinations in the second book *de Synedriis*[o]; of the right of the civil power in limiting causes of divorce in his *Uxor Ebraica*[p]; hath reason

[n] "For the sum of the performance in behalf of the clergy, I dare confidently affirm, that never before was there so much human law positive for the paiment of whole tithes observed to public view as is here discovered, and that especially in the viii. chapter for the clergy of England. And plainly he that talks of tithes without reference to such positive law, makes the object of his discourse rather what he would have should be, than any thing that indeed is at all. For what state is in all Christendom wherein tithes are paid *de facto*, otherwise than according to human law positive? that is as subject to some customs, to statutes, to all civil disposition. If they be in truth due *jure divino*—which divines must determine of—they remain equally so as well after as before human laws made touching them. But that is a question daily controverted, and among the clergy." Preface, pp. xiii. xiv. In his Review of the History, chap. vi. he sums up as follows;—"After the opinions of the age in § 6, the laws both imperial, provincial, and pontifical follow in chap. vii. . . . . The force of the words of all those laws, the authority that made them, and the territories to which they were extended, are especially to be observed by every one that here looks after human positive law. For many talk and write of that, and tell us here of *Jus Ecclesiasticum*—at least if they fail in their arguments from *Jus Divinum*—but whence that *Jus Ecclesiasticum* is, and where or when made, they little enough know. For what hath a provincial council of one nation to do with another? What hath the Imperials of the old French empire to do with England? Nay what hath the Pope's decrees to do here? But because there was a time when their authority was more largely acknowledged, their decrees that bred much of what now justly continues in some states—which also justly now deny their authority—remain most observable. And we have given them in their places." p. 477. For publishing this book Selden was summoned before the High Commission Court, and made a recantation.

[o] Ex ejusmodi presbyteratûs, in facultatem non judiciariam seu forensem aliquam, sed ligandi, solvendi, docendi, juxta morem Judaicum veterem inter Christianos, etiam ut pariter suum, usitata extra Terram ordinatione, uti et intra, in facultatem pro re nata, sive utramque, sive alterutram, habebantur tam extra quam intra Judæam in Ecclesiis Christianorum, per ipsa Apostolorum tempora, presbyteri Christiani munere ligandi, solvendi, docendi, imbuti, adeoque Christianismum sic propagandi. Cæterum eorum nullis, qua tales erant, jurisdictio aliqua sive intra, sive extra Judæam competiit, magis atque in Synagogis, proseuchis, scholis Judæorum, quæ consessus non erant omnino ex sui natura forenses aut jurisdictionis. Et si qua forte in eis jurisdictio aliqua subinde exerceretur, aut exerceri videretur, ea ex disciplina confederata eorum qui ad ecclesias ejusmodi spectarent et permissione principum sub quibus vivebatur, pendebat, non ex presbyteratus ejusmodi officio.—Cap. vii. § 9. p. 211. Amstelodami, 1679.

[p] Sed dubitari nequit, quin Constantinus Cæsar Christianissimus atque successores ejus tum generi hieratico haud parum plerumque addicti tum institutorum Evangelicorum Apostolicorumque studiosi, qua nempe juxta doctrinam simul et usum anteriorum temporum edoceri possent, id sanciendo de divortiis stabilirent et servarent quod ab Episcoporum reliquorumque primas tenentium mystarum ubilibet cœtu aut plerisque eorum pro legitimo atque orthodoxo haberetur. . . . .

Jam vero simul ac ferme Christianismus in Imperium Romanum receptus est, id est sexennio aut circiter post

to judge, as well as I, who have heard him say[q], that all pretence of ecclesiastical power is an imposture.

§ 12. I say not that he, or the rest of Erastus's followers make themselves, by the same consequence, liable to those horrible consequences which the Leviathan admits; but I say, that they are to bethink themselves what right they will assign the civil power in determining controversies in religion that may arise; and what assurance they can give their subjects that their salvation is well provided for, standing to their decrees. Besides, I was to mention these opinions here, that those who take the sentence of the Church to be the first ground of faith, into which it is lastly resolved, may see that
7 they are to prove the Church to be a corporation by divine right, before they can challenge any such power for it. For that which is once denied it will be ridiculous to take for granted without proving it. And whatsoever may be the right of the Church, in deciding controversies of faith, it cannot be proved without evidence for this charter of the Church, as you shall see by and by more at large.

Synodum Nicænam primam, seu anno Christi 331, Basso et Ablavio Coss., liberius quod, ut ante ostenditur, usurpatum est divertendi jus pro alterutrius conjugum sive libitu sive qualicunque causæ obtentu a Constantino coercitum est. lib. 3. pp. 559, 560. Londini, 1646.

Certe et diu ante tempus legis illius de divortiis latæ, et ante Synodum Nicænam adeo Episcopali judicio etiam indulserat Constantinus ut constituerit *judicem*—qualemcumque—*pro sua solicitudine observare debere, ut si ad Episcopale judicium provocaretur, silentium accommodaretur* . . . . . Hæc quidem de Episcopali judicio satis imprudenter concessa, postea merito sunt immutata. Sed ideo obiter adnotavimus, ut inde constet non solum imperatoria autoritate sanctionem illam de divortiis adeoque quotquot in ea ut necessaria admittenda sunt viguisse, verum etiam sententiæ illius ævi Episcopale, hieraticæ, quæ saltem obtinuit fuisse non dissonum. Quisquamne ea de re potuerit dubitare, qui quanto erga Episcopos sanctionis autor indulta—de quo plura item apud Eusebium in ejus vita habes—idque in rebus universis tam profanis quam sacris definiendis se gereret, ex hisce observaverit. Neque interim Episcopale judicium sanctionibus principalibus ab eo promulgatis contrarium omnino permissum esse, est existimandum, ubi nec ipse princeps prius abrogaret.—Ib., lib. iii. pp. 564, 565. Londini, 1646.

[q] There is in his Table Talk a passage somewhat akin to the opinion attributed to him in the text. See *Jurisdiction.* "There is no such thing as spiritual jurisdiction, all is civil, the Church's is the same with the Lord Mayor's; suppose a Christian came into a Pagan country, how can you fancy he shall have any power there? he finds fault with the gods of the country, well, they will put him to death for it; when he is a martyr what follows? Does that argue he has any spiritual jurisdiction? If the clergy say the Church ought to be governed thus and thus by the Word of God, that is doctrine all, that is not discipline."—Table Talk, p. 26. London, 1689.

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CHAPTER III.

THAT NEITHER THE SENTENCE OF THE CHURCH, NOR THE DICTATE OF GOD'S SPIRIT, CAN BE THE REASON WHY THE SCRIPTURES ARE TO BE RECEIVED. NO MAN CAN KNOW THAT HE HATH GOD'S SPIRIT, WITHOUT KNOWING THAT HE IS A TRUE CHRISTIAN, WHICH SUPPOSETH THE TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURE. THE MOTIVES OF FAITH ARE THE REASON WHY THE SCRIPTURES ARE TO BE BELIEVED. AND THE CONSENT OF GOD'S PEOPLE THE REASON THAT EVIDENCES THOSE MOTIVES TO BE INFALLIBLY TRUE. HOW THE SCRIPTURES ARE BELIEVED FOR THEMSELVES. HOW A CIRCLE IS MADE IN RENDERING A REASON OF THE FAITH. THE SCRIPTURES ARE GOD'S LAW TO ALL, TO WHOM THEY ARE PUBLISHED, BY GOD'S ACT OF PUBLISHING THEM; BUT CIVIL LAW, BY THE ACT OF SOVEREIGN POWERS, IN ACTING CHRISTIANITY UPON THEIR SUBJECTS.

That neither the sentence of the Church nor the dictate of God's Spirit can be the reason why the Scriptures are to be received.

IT would not be easy to find an entrance into such a perplexed question, had not the dispute of it started another, concerning the reason why we believe the Scriptures; whether upon the credit of the Church, or for themselves, or whether nothing but the Spirit of God speaking to each man's heart, is sufficient to evidence that it is the word of God which they contain. This if we can resolve in our way, perhaps we may discover ground to stand upon when we come to the main. He that says the Scriptures are to be believed for themselves[r], exposes them to the scorn of unbelievers, by tying himself to use no other reason for them; lest for that reason they should

[r] "The authority of God, the supreme Lord of all; the first and only absolute truth, whose word is truth, speaking in, and by, the penmen of the Scriptures, evidenced singly in and by the Scripture itself, is the sole bottom and foundation, or formal reason, of our assenting to those Scriptures as His word, and of our submitting our hearts and consciences unto them, with that faith and obedience, which morally respects Him, and is due to Him alone.

"That then which to the establishment of the souls of believers, I shall labour to prove and evince, is plainly this, namely, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, do abundantly and uncontrollably manifest themselves to be the word of the living God, so that merely on the account of their own proposal of themselves unto us, in the name and majesty of God, as such without the contribution of help or assistance from tradition, Church, or any thing else without themselves, we are obliged upon the penalty of eternal damnation—as are all to whom by any means they come, or are brought—to receive them, with that subjection of soul which is due to the word of God. The authority of God shining in them, they afford unto us all the Divine evidence of themselves, which God is willing to grant unto us, or can be granted us, or is any way needful for us. So then the authority of the written word, in itself and unto us, is from itself, as the word of God, and the eviction of that authority unto us, is by itself."—Dr. Owen's Divine Original of the Scriptures, chap. ii. §§ 3, 5. pp. 32—35. London, 1659.

find that credit, which the seeking of it shews they had not of themselves. He that says[s] they are to be believed for the authority of the Church, is bound to give account how we shall know, both that there is a Church which some persons may oblige; and who is the Church, that is, who be the men whose act obliges the Church; and that, without alleging Scripture, because hitherto we have no reason to receive it: and being but men, how their act obliges the Church; which cannot be shewed, without shewing that God hath founded a corporation of His Church, and given power to some men, or some qualities or ranks of men in it, to oblige the whole: which how it will be shewed, without means to determine the sense of the Scriptures, the parties agreeing in nothing but the truth of Christianity and of the Scriptures, is impossible to be said.

§ 2. This position[t] then induces that stop to all proceeding by reason, which logicians call a circle: when a man disputes in a round, as a mill-horse grinds, arguing this power to be in the Church by the Scriptures—without which he can say nothing to it—and arguing the truth of the Scriptures back again, by alleging the authority of the Church. Which

[s] Nos vero in genere jam ostendimus, certissimam hujus controversiæ regulam, esse Ecclesiæ authoritatem: eamque orthodoxo solam satisfacere et posse et debere. Ex quo etiam sequitur, alterum et illustre Catholicæ fidei principium doctrinale, Scripturas Sacras videlicet ab Ecclesia consignari, nec alias pro sacris, et pro ipso Dei verbo habendas, nisi quas Ecclesia Catholica per præpositos suos, et adhibitis, quæ demonstrata sunt, mediis pro hujusmodi approbaverit. Huic autem disputationi commode subnecti posset illa nobilissima et difficillima quæstio, quæ sit major authoritas Ecclesiæ an Scripturæ: quandoquidem Scripturam ipsam taxat, approbat et confirmat Ecclesia.—Stapleton. Princip. Fidei. Controv. v. lib. ix. cap. xiv. p. 351. Paris. 1582.

[t] Illud in primis adversariis concedimus libenter, immo et contendimus, vitiosum fore circulum, si quis modo supradicto fidem suam mirum credendo Eccles bilem, eo quod Scrip deinde altero actu Sc esse divinam, [illegible] ponit; ita ut nec Ecclesiam credat nisi dependenter a Scriptura credita, nec hanc nisi dependenter ab Ecclesia fide divina credita. Cæterum nego Catholicos hoc modo resolvere. Et quidem si loquamur de resolutione objectiva, seu potius ipsa compositione, ac reali progressu uniuscujusque Catholici in credendo, incipiendo a primo principio synthetico; dico neminem penitus ita fidem suam resolvere seu construere. Si loquamur de resolutione illa formali, rationis speculativa, doctorum propria, quamvis curari non debeat, si forte aliquis in re subtilissima hallucinetur, et modum credendi Catholicorum per circulos explicet—neque enim hinc sequetur, talem re ipsa ita fidem suam construere et causare, sed solum quod male intelligat modum, initia et progressus suæ fidei; quod mirum non est in re tam obscura et subtili, unde et Scriptura jubet probare spiritus—nihilominus nego, Catholicos, quibus [illegible] istius culpæ esse vere reos, ostendam.—Bacon. Regula [illegible] cap. iv. pp. 232, 233.

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destroys that supposition upon which all dispute of reason proceeds, that nothing can be proved but by that which is better known than that which it proveth. But are those[u] that allege the Spirit for the evidence upon which they receive the Scripture less subject to this inconvenience? For is it not manifest, that men may and do delude themselves with an imagination, that God's Spirit tells them that, which their own spirit, without God's Spirit, conceives? How then shall it be discerned, what comes from God's Spirit, what does not, without supposing the Scriptures, by which the matter thereof is discernible? And is not this the same circle, to prove the truth of the Scriptures by the dictate of God's Spirit, and that by alleging the Scriptures?

No man can know that he hath God's Spirit, without knowing that he is a true Christian.

§ 3. To make the ground of this inconvenience still more evident, I will here insist upon this presumption; that the gift of the Holy Ghost presupposeth Christianity, that is, the belief and profession of the Christian faith; and therefore, that no man can know that he hath the Holy Ghost, but he

[u] "We acknowledge these books to be canonical, that is, we account them as the rule and square of our faith, and that not only for the common consent of the Church, but also much more for the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration we are taught to discern them from other ecclesiastical books:"—French Confession.

"These books alone do we receive as sacred and canonical, whereupon our faith may rest, be confirmed and established; therefore without any doubt we believe also those things which are contained in them, and that not so much because the Church receiveth and alloweth them for canonical, as for that the Holy Ghost beareth witness to our consciences that they came from God, and most of all that for that they also testify and justify by themselves this their own sacred authority and sanctity, seeing that even the blind may clearly behold, and as it were feel the fulfilling and accomplishment of all things which were foretold in these writings."—Confession of Belgia.—An Harmony of the Confessions, pp. 9, 11. Cambridge, 1586.

Sed negamus nos tantum ob illam Ecclesiæ commendationem Scripturis fidem adhibere. Esse enim dicimus certius ac illustrius testimonium, quo nobis persuadeatur hos libros sacros esse, testimonium nempe internum Spiritus Sancti, sine quo Ecclesiæ commendatio nullius apud nos ponderis aut momenti futura esset. Injuriosi igitur nobis sunt Papistæ, dum affirmant nos Ecclesiæ authoritatem rejicere, ac nihili æstimare. Nos enim Ecclesiæ testimonium libenter amplectimur, ejusque authoritatem admittimus, sed affirmamus longe aliud certius et verius et augustius testimonium esse, quam Ecclesiæ.

Summa nostræ sententiæ est, esse Scripturam *αὐτόπιστον*, id est, ex se suam omnem authoritatem et fidem habere, esse agnoscendam, esse recipiendam, non tantum quia Ecclesia sic statuit et jussit; sed quia a Deo prodiit: prodiisse autem a Deo, non ab Ecclesia, sed ex Spiritu Sancto, certo intelligi. Ecclesiam vero intelligimus, non ut illi, Pastores, Episcopos, Concilia Papam, sed totam fidelium multitudinem. Ea enim didicit ex Spiritu Sancto, hanc Scripturam esse Sacram, hos libros esse Divinos. Hanc persuasionem Spiritus Sanctus in omnium fidelium mentibus consignavit.—Whitaker. de Sacr. Script. Controv. i. quæst. iii. cap. i. p. 315. Genevæ, 1610.

must first know the truth of Christianity, and of the Scriptures. Not that it is my meaning, either to suppose or prove
8 in this place, that whoso hath the Spirit of God, doth or may know that he hath it—for that is one of those controversies, which we are seeking principles to resolve—but that no man can know that he hath the Spirit of God, unless first he know himself to be a true Christian. That is to say, that supposing for the present, but not granting, that a man can know that he hath God's Spirit, and that it is God's Spirit which moves him to believe this or that, he must first know what is true Christianity, and by consequence, the means to discern between true and false. And this I propose for an assumption necessary to the evidencing of that which follows, but not questioned by any party in the Church, because it is a principle in Christianity, that the grace of the Holy Ghost is a promise peculiar to those that undertake it.

[Shewn from the acts,]

§ 4. Who were they on whom the Holy Ghost was first bestowed? Was it not the Apostles and the rest of [the] disciples assembled to serve God with the offices of the Church, that is to say, already Christians? When Philip had converted the Samaritans, came St. Peter and St. John to give them the Holy Ghost by laying on their hands, [Acts viii. 14.] before they were baptized? Concerning the disciples at Ephesus, Acts xix. 1—6, there is some dispute[v], whether they received the Holy Ghost by the imposition of St. Paul's hands, by virtue of the baptism of John—which they had received before they met with St. Paul—or whether they were baptized over and above with the baptism of Christ, and thereupon received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of St. Paul's hands. But of this, they that will have them to have been baptized

[v] Beza held that they were not baptized by St. Paul:—Cæterum particula δὲ omissa veteribus nimium multis præbuit maximi duplicis erroris occasionem, ut qui propterea Lucæ hæc esse verba credentes, et ad duodecim illos pertinere, quasi fuerint a Paulo rebaptizati, eo sunt delapsi ut aliud fuisse Joannis baptisma quam Christi et a Johanne baptizatos oportuisse in Christi nomen rebaptizari existimaverint, errore certe non levi.—Bezæ Comment. in loc. vers. 5. On the second verse he writes thus; Absurdissimum fuerit credere eos qui ab Johanne baptizati essent, et se Christi discipulos profiterentur, ignorasse an esset aliquis Spiritus Sanctus quem ipse Joannes visibili specie viderat in Jesum Christum illabi. De hoc igitur neque Apostolus quæsivit, neque isti responderunt, sed de iis donis quæ passim per Ecclesias [illegible] vigebant, de quo Spiritu [illegible]nt sese quicquam admodu[illegible]uc

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only with St. John's baptism, make no dispute, that they were fully made Christians by it.

[and sayings of the Apostles,]

§ 5. Can any thing be clearer than St. Paul's words, Gal. iii. 2—5, that by the hearing of faith, that is, obeying it, they had received the Holy Ghost, which by the works of the law they could not receive? And 2 Cor. xi. 4: "If he that cometh preach another Jesus whom we preached not, or ye receive another Spirit, which ye received not, or another Gospel which ye admitted not;" another Jesus, another Gospel, inferreth another spirit. So Gal. iii. 14: "That the blessing of Abraham may come upon the Gentiles through Christ Jesus, that ye may receive the promise of the Holy Ghost by faith." The promise of the Holy Ghost then, supposeth the condition of faith. And Gal. iv. 6: "Because ye are sons, therefore God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts crying, Abba, Father." Heb. vi. 4: "It is impossible for those that were once enlightened, and tasted the heavenly gift, and became partakers of the Holy Ghost:" upon enlightening, that is, baptism, follows the participation of the Holy Ghost. And seeing the resurrection of the flesh unto glory is ascribed by St. Paul to the Spirit of God that dwelt in it, while it lived upon earth, Rom. viii. 10, 11, as the resurrection of our Lord Christ is ascribed to the Spirit of holiness that dwelt in Him without measure, Rom. i. 4; John iii. 34, of necessity the Holy Ghost dwelleth in all them that shall rise to glory. But baptism assureth resurrection to glory; therefore it assureth the Holy Ghost by which they rise. Nor can it be understood how we are the "temple of God, because the Spirit of God dwelleth in us," 1 Cor. iii. 16, but because the promise of the Holy Ghost dependeth upon that which distinguisheth Christians from other people.

[and of our Lord.]

§ 6. In fine, when our Saviour promiseth, John xiv. 23, "If any man love Me, he will keep My word, and My Father will love him, and We will come to him and abide with him;" seeing the Father and the Son do dwell in those that love God, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, the gift of the Holy Ghost of necessity supposeth the love of God in them that have it. And yet his discourse is more effectual Rom. viii. 1—9, that "there is now no condemnation for those that are in Christ Jesus, that walk not after the flesh but after the

Spirit." For as he inferreth, that "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of Christ's:" so he had premised Rom. v. 1—5; "Being justified by faith, we have peace towards God through our Lord Jesus Christ," together with the joy of hope, by the love of God, poured out in our hearts through the Spirit of God which is in us. The kingdom of God consisting in "righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Rom. xiv. 17.

§ 7. If it be here objected, that the grace of the Holy Ghost is necessary to bring a man to Christianity, and therefore cannot suppose it; supposing this for the present, but
9 not granting it, because it is in controversy, and must be resolved by the grounds which we seek; it will be easy to distinguish between the grace of the Holy Ghost, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. For he that is converted to believe the truth of Christianity, may acknowledge it to be of grace, but must not presume of the gift of the Holy Ghost, that it is bestowed on him for his own, till his conversion be complete, by undertaking the profession of Christianity.

§ 8. If it be further alleged, that Cornelius and his company received the Holy Ghost before they were baptized; [Acts x. 44.] the answer is ready, from that maxim of law, that every exception against a rule, establishes the rule in cases not excepted[x]. Cornelius, no Jew, but converted from idols to worship the true God, under the promises which the Jews expected, with his company of the same faith, being in the state of God's grace upon that account, receives the Holy Ghost before baptism, because God knew him ready to undertake the profession of Christianity, so soon as it could appear to be commanded by God. And this, for the satisfaction of St. Peter and the Jews, in that secret, which hereby began to be declared, that the Gentiles, as well as the Jews, belonged to the Church.

§ 9. It is true the graces of the Holy Ghost are of two kinds[y]; for some of them are given for the benefit and salva- [Two kinds of grace. *Gratia gratum*

[x] Exceptio firmat regulam in contrarium.

[y] . . Duplex est gratia. Una quidem per quam ipse homo Deo conjungitur, quæ vocatur gratia gratum faciens. Alia vero per quam unus homo cooperatur alteri ad hoc, quod ad Deu reducatur. Hujusmodi autem don vocatur gratia gratis data: quia s facultatem naturæ et supra mer personæ homini conceditur. non datur ad hoc, ut homo

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tion of those in whom they are, some for the benefit and edification of the Church. And it is true, that both kinds are meant and expressed by these Scriptures. But it is no less true, that neither of them is to be had, but supposing the truth of Christianity and of the Scriptures. For the first kind is granted to none, but those that embrace Christianity with a sincere intention of living according to that which they profess; being indeed the help that God, by His Gospel, promises and allows them, to go through with that high and difficult profession which they undertake. We see the Apostles forsake their Lord, and make a doubt of His resurrection, before the coming of the Holy Ghost; whom having received, they are ready to profess Christ in the midst of utmost dangers. And St. John, as he giveth the reason why the righteous sin not—because their seed abideth in them, that is, the word of the Gospel by which they were engendered anew to be Christians, 1 John iii. 9.—so he giveth the reason, why they were not to be seduced by the heresies of that time, because the unction which they had received from the Holy One taught them to know all things. 1 John ii. 20, 27. Thus the unction of the Spirit supposes the seed of the Word, and the seed of the Word infers the unction of the Spirit. And as when the Word of God came to the prophets, they were withal possessed by God's Spirit, moving them to deliver it to the people: so when the word of faith is established in the heart of a Christian, as David saith[z], the Spirit of God possesseth him with an inclination, both to profess it, and to live according to it.

[*Gratia gratis data.*]

§ 10. As for the second kind, it is true, they are granted to those that are not heirs of God's promises, as it appears by the instances of Saul, surprised with the spirit of prophecy, when he intended the death of David, 1 Sam. xix. 23, 24. Of those that have prophesied and cast out devils, and done

justificetur, sed potius ut ad justificationem alterius cooperetur, ideo non vocatur gratum faciens. Et de hac dicit Apostolus, 1 ad Corinth. xii. *Unicuique datur manifestatio ad utilitatem*, scilicet, aliorum.

. . . . gratia gratum faciens addit aliquid supra rationem gratiæ gratis datæ, quod etiam ad rationem gratiæ pertinet, quia scilicet hominem gratum facit Deo: et ideo gratia gratis data, quæ hoc non facit, retinet sibi nomen commune, sicut in pluribus aliis contingit. Et sic opponuntur duæ partes divisionis, sicut gratum faciens, et non faciens gratum.—S. Thom. Aquin. 1ª Secund. q. cxi. Art. i. tom. xi. fol. 255. Romæ, 1571.

[z] Compare Psalm cxvi. 10. and 2 Cor. iv. 13.

miracles in our Lord's name, to whom He shall say, "I know you not:" Matt. vii. 22, 23. Of Caiaphas, who prophesied of our Lord's death, when he was compassing of it, John xi. 49—52. And of Balaam [Numb. xxii. 9.] in the last place, as all know. But as the former kind supposeth true Christianity in him that hath it, so doth this, correspondently, suppose the profession of it, as under the old law, the profession of the true God.

§ 11. The trial of a prophet under the law was, not the doing of a miracle alone; if he seduced from God, instead of taking him for God's messenger, they were to put him to death, Deut. xiii. 1—5. So the trial was, the doing of a miracle, under the profession of the true God. Under the Gospel, "No man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus anathema, nor can any man call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost:" 1 Cor. xii. 3. Supposing that a man speaketh such things as must come, either from God's Spirit or from evil spirits, the trial is, whether he profess Christ or not. And 1 John iv. 2, 3: "Every spirit that confesseth Jesus come in the flesh to be Christ, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God." Every spirit, that is, every inspiration which a man of himself cannot have. God will not have His people so tempted, that under the profession of the true religion, the devil's instruments should have power to work miracles, to seduce them from it. Upon these terms prophesied Saul under the law, and upon the same terms prophesied those under the Gospel, whom our Lord will not own, having done miracles in His name.

§ 12. As for Caiaphas, it doth not appear that he spoke those words—whereby St. John saith he prophesied of our Lord's death—by revelation or inspiration from God: for the reason is given why he prophesied, because he was high-priest that year. Now when the high-priests declared God's orders to His ancient people, there is no appearance that they were inspired by revelation with that which they declared: but that putting on the pontifical robes, God's will appeared by the breast-plate of Urim and Thummim, thou
know not how. Accordingly, so were Caia
ordered—this gift being ceased many ag

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tain a prophecy of our Lord's death by God's intent, but without his. But Balaam's case is far otherwise. Arnobius *adversus Gentes* IV.[a] tells us, that magicians, in their operations, met with contrary gods, whom he calls *Antitheos*, that would not suffer them to proceed. Balaam met with the true God, and knew Him to be so, and all his enchantments controlable by Him, and yet sacrifices to false gods, that by their help he might curse God's people. In this case, Balaam, though commanded as a subject, is not as a friend, inspired by God, when God forces him to speak what he would not.

[The Protestant theory,]

§ 13. If any man[b] then resolve the credit of the Scripture into the inward witness of God's Spirit, dictating to his spirit, that they are the word of God, it will be utterly impertinent to our purpose. For seeking, as we do, the means to resolve one another, it will be impertinent to allege that, which though a man is inwardly satisfied with, yet outwardly to another cannot appear. And certainly, if there be no reason to satisfy another man of the truth of the whole, that is, of Christianity or of the Scriptures, it cannot be expected that there should be satisfaction, why this or that should belong to the truth of Christianity, or the intent and meaning of the Scriptures. For of necessity, whatsoever evidence can be made for this or that truth contained in the Scriptures, must depend upon the reason, for which Christianity is received as God's truth. In fine, the reason why controversies in religion may, and are to be ended by dispute of reason is this, as hath been premised[c], because that the Holy Ghost, which effectually moveth us to believe, supposeth sufficient reason, moving in the nature of an object proposed, to believe. Therefore neither the truth of Christianity, nor the Scripture is admitted upon the dictate of God's Spirit, but supposing the reasons which convict us that they are to be admitted. And correspondently

[a] Nunquid illorum aliquando vidistis os, habitum, faciem? aut eadem hæc possunt in pulmonibus, aut jecusculis conspici? Nonne accidere, fieri, licet astu dissimuletis, potest, ut alter pro altero subeat, fallens, ludens, decipiens, atque invocati speciem præstans? Si magi haruspicum fratres suis in accitionibus memorant antitheos sæpius obrepere pro accitis, esse autem hos quosdam materiis ex crassioribus spiritus, qui Deos se fingant, nesciosque mendaciis et simulationibus ludant, cum ratione non dispari credamus hic quoque subjicere se alios pro his qui non sunt, ut et vestras opiniationes firment et sibi hostias cædi alienis sub nominibus gaudeant. — Arnobii Afri Disputat., lib. iv. p. 134. Lugdun. Batav. 1651.

[b] See note u sect. 2. above.

[c] Chap. i. sect. 3.

the gift of the Holy Ghost, that enableth to continue in the profession and exercise of Christianity, supposeth the belief of that Christianity, which a man from his heart professes; and by consequence, the reason why he is to believe, which will not fail to infer the truth of the Scriptures.

§ 14. But if it be said[d], that any person or persons, as rulers of the Church, have the promise of inspiration or revelation from God, for a ground upon which others are to believe; it hath been shewed[e], that all such grace supposeth the profession of Christianity, and the truth of the Scriptures, and therefore the grounds of the same. If any man should say, as I perceive some have a mind to say[f], that the gift of infallibility in

[d] Sed præterea Ecclesiam in fide errare non posse, sic a fidelibus accipiendum est, ut quicquid Ecclesia tamquam fidei dogma tenet, verum sit: nec quicquam falsum, quod illa aut credit, aut docet esse credendum. Cum enim corpus Christi sit, ut *ad Ephes.* docet Apostolus, a suo certe capite movetur ac regitur. Ecclesiæ igitur error ad Christum auctorem referetur. Nullo itaque pacto errare in fide potest. Nam spiritus veritatis est hujus corporis anima. 'Unus,' inquit, 'spiritus, et unum corpus.' Quod si spiritu veritatis ecclesia agitur, ad nullum errorem, ne insciens quidem, moveri poterit. Præclaram deinde promissionem habet Ecclesia quod nunquam sit a Christo deserenda, quin ejus spiritu in omnem ducatur veritatem. . . . . Quem igitur spiritum veritatis Christus promisit Apostolis, Ecclesiæ item post eos futuræ promisit, nisi velimus Ecclesiam defunctis Apostolis fuisse a Domino destitutam: Imo vero ad eam nec consilia, nec præcepta Evangelii pertinere. Siquidem quæ Dominus Apostolis loquebatur, hæc ad illos duntaxat, non ad futuros in Ecclesia post eos spectare dicuntur. Quo quid stultius dici potest?—Melchior. Cani Loc. Theol., lib. iv. cap. iv. fol. 124. Colon. Agrippin. 1585.

[e] Sect. 3.

[f] Sed merito hic quæritur, quænam sit hæc veritatis infallibilitas Ecclesiæ data, suggerente Spiritu Sancto. Nempe an Ecclesia ipsa nihil agente in quæstione proposita, sed vel solis precibus Deo rem commendante, vel etiam ne orante quidem, sed eo ipso quod laborat, et doceri cupit, Deo statim suggerente, hanc veritatis infallibilitatem consequatur; an potius studio et industria ipsius Ecclesiæ diligenter et scripturas ipsas et alia media consulentis, id fiat: Denique quo et quanto studio, quibus mediis et subsidiis hanc tantam infallibilitatem Ecclesia consequatur. Etenim sine ulla inquisitione et labore, veritatem omnem cognoscere, ad immediatam illam revelationem spectat, solis Prophetis, et Apostolis propriam: quibus dictum est *Nolite cogitari quomodo aut quid loquamini.* Non autem ad eorum successores, et Ecclesiæ magistros, qui eos sequuti sunt. Alioqui frustra et Synodi convocarentur, et rerum sacrarum studia atque exercitia susciperentur, pastores quoque in Ecclesia non vigilantes, sed in utramque aurem dormientes statuerentur, multaque alia absurda consequerentur. Rursum, si labore et industria hæc veritas exquiratur, alia quæstio est quomodo constabit de hoc labore ab Ecclesia suscepto aut legitimis mediis adhibitis; dabiturque adversariis excipiendi locus, quod temere Ecclesia definierit, non adhibito illo maturo judicio, studio et consilio quibus opus erat, mediis quoque non adhibitis quibus oportebat. Ad hanc quæstionem respondetur, Ecclesiam quæ Apostolos sequuta est, eique successit, in dubiis circa fidem discutiendis, immediata et sola revelatione Spiritus Sancti non uti, sed facta inquisitione, et causæ meritis expensis, adhibitis quoque mediis et subsidiis ad rem propositam idoneis, ut ante omnia Scripturis ipsis, deinde Summorum Pontificum et Conciliorum decretis, Patrum sententiis, regula fidei consulta et similibus, ... ad [illegible] certitudinem pervenire.

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the Church, supposes no such inspiration or revelation, but only the qualities of such persons as have power to conclude the Church, and that they do visibly proceed to determine; it will be evident, that they can no more challenge this right, not supposing Christianity and the foundation of the Church, than the high-priest of the Jews could proceed to give answer by Urim and Thummim, not supposing that God had given the law, and appointed the priest so to do.

which supposeth the truth of the Scripture.

§ 15. The resolution of this question may make it appear, that Christians falling out among themselves, maintain themselves upon such grounds, as would leave no room for the truth of that Christianity which both suppose. Had we to do with the enemies of it, it would easily appear, we must allege such reasons for the truth of God's Word as might convince 11
the enemies of it, and not suppose the truth of it when the question is how it may appear to be true. It were therefore fit to consider whether a man can reasonably be a Christian, and yet question the truth of the Scriptures; or rather, not fit to consider that which there can be no doubt in. The whole content of the Scripture is either the motives or the matter of Christianity. They that profess Christianity suppose the motives of it true, which they admit to be sufficient. Supposing them true, they cannot question the Scriptures that record them; supposing those Scriptures, they cannot question those motives for true; whether sufficient, is resolved by admitting Christianity. Always the same reason that

sia nunc, et statim post Apostolos edocta semper fuit, per veros pastores et doctores, non per Angelos ut ante legem, non per prophetas, ut in veteri lege, nec per Apostolos aut Evangelistas ut statim post Christum. His enim, ut talibus, proprium est et peculiare, ex proxima Dei revelatione docere. Proprium autem, solis quidem et omnibus, sed non semper. Nam et illi ipsi interdum humanis documentis et mediis utuntur: sicuti Matthæus et Johannes ex his quæ viderant oculis suis. Lucas et Marcus ex iis quæ audiverant ab aliis, Evangelia sua conscripserunt. Sed tamen etiam in hujusmodi quasi humanis mediis infallibili et peculiari Spiritus Sancti directione utuntur; quam Ecclesiæ pastores semper et in singulis mediis non habent: utpote qui mediis et documentis utuntur interdum Divinis, interdum humanis, modo tamen, studio et industria humana.

Pastores enim et Doctores Ecclesiæ, nec ut prophetæ vel Apostoli ex immediata revelatione loquuntur, nec ut philosophi naturales sola ratione aut experientia humana pro regula utuntur; denique nec prophetica est omnino nec discursiva omnino, eorum doctrina: sed ratiocinantur quidem ut homines sapientes quo ad media, aliud ex alio inferendo et colligendo, in ipsa autem conclusione divinitus adjuvantur, ideoque eorum doctrina in mediis est discursiva, in conclusione prophetica.—Stapleton. Princip. Fid. Controv. iv. lib. viii. cap. xiv. p. 296. Paris. 1582.

moves a man to be a Christian resolves him to believe the Scripture; neither would he allege any other, had he to do with the enemies of Christianity. What those motives are concerns not us, proceeding upon supposition of common Christianity to determine differences within it.

§ 16. Yet that I may be the better understood, my meaning is, that the miracles done by those from whom we have the Scriptures, is the only motive to shew that they came from God, and therefore that we are obliged to receive what they preached, and by consequence the Scriptures that contain it. Not intending hereby to quit the advantage which the law hath of heathenism, and the Gospel of the law, in regard of the reasonableness and holiness of the matter of each above other respectively, justified by the light of nature. But because the business is at present only to shew the evidence we have, that God did send—whatsoever reason may be given why He would send—which without other evidence had remained unknown, though never so probable or reasonable. Not intending hereby to balk that witness, which the Scriptures of the Old Testament yield to the truth of the New. But because that witness depends upon the miracles done by Moses and the prophets, to evidence their commission from God; and so the credit which the New Testament hath from the Old is resolved into those miracles which evidenced the sending of Moses and the prophets, and consists in the miracle of foretelling those things by the one which by the other are fulfilled.

§ 17. I know the Jews expressly deny the credit of the law to depend upon any miracles done by Moses and the prophets, but only upon the appearance of God at giving the law to all that people, and speaking to them mouth to mouth[g]; [Jewish theory of evidence.]

g Coronidis loco quærit clarissimus Dominus; 'Quibus argumentis moti Judæi Mosem agnoscant prophetam et Divinum legislatorem.' Facile satisfaciemus huic quæsito clarissimi viri vestigiis insistentes. 'Deus,' ut ait, 'adeo clare se Israëli manifestaverat, ut ejus existentiam in dubium vocare, non possent.' Cum vero eadem media, per quæ ita clare se manifestavit, etiam Mosem Divinum prophetam et legislatorem probaverint, non magis poterant Israëlitæ prophetiam Mosis in dubium vocare, quam Dei existentiam: Ideo Deus ipse dixit: 'Et credent in me, et in te in æternum:' et antea 'et crediderunt Domino, et Mosi servo ejus:' quippe eisdem mediis, quibus se fecit clare cognosci, Mosis legationem divinam esse facile et liquido ostendit. Igitur patres nostri, quibus clara et indubitabilis fuit hæc revelatio Domini, et Mosis servi ejus, filios suos qui non viderant Dei miracula, neque ejus vocem audiverant, Mosis divinam legationem et prophe-

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the like whereof not having been done, nor to be done, in giving Christianity—belonging to all nations, who could not meet at once to receive it—they think themselves grounded thereupon that the law is not, nor could be, reversed by it. Thus are they content that God, sending Moses on His ambassage, with the miracles which He gave him for his letters of credit, shall be thought not to have convicted Pharaoh; that the law provided no legal trial, God no evidence to the conscience of His servants, distinguishing true and false prophets, which cannot be imagined but by their sayings and doings, predictions and other miracles. Well may the delivering of the law have circumstances which no other miraculous action recorded in the Scriptures can compare with; shall

tiam, docuere, quod est unicum fundamentum divinæ legis in qua præcipue commendatur, ut hanc veritatem filios edoceant. . . . . .

Hoc sit primum argumentum, quo Mosem prophetam et divinum legislatorem, cognoscunt Judæi: quia patribus nostris adeo clare Deus Mosem verum prophetam Israëli manifestavit, ut eis non amplius posset esse dubitatio neque nobis, qui ab eis per interruptam nunquam traditionem accepimus.—Sec. Script. Jud. apud Limborch. Amic. Coll. pp. 14, 15.

Objicit doctissimus vir; cum ego credam hæc sufficere ad fidem Mosi præstandam, quare etiam suo Messiæ eandem fidem adhibere recusent Judæi? Breviter respondeo, ad quæ antea scripseram consequenter loquens: quod propter eandem rationem, qua Mosi fidem præstamus, Evangelio adhibere non possumus: quippe ideo Mosi, et ejus legi credimus, quia a suo tempore usque in præsens non interrupta traditione a patribus recepimus, eos ea omnia vidisse, ut in Sacris Bibliis enarrantur, esseque omnino vera, sine aliquo dubio aut controversia hanc enarrationem intercipiente. Cum vero a tempore quo Evangelium ab eisdem patribus non interrupta traditione receperimus ex ea non ita fuisse, ut enarrantur et creduntur a Christianismo, iis fidem adhibere nec possumus, nec tenemur: Cum Dominus nunquam nos ad gentes misisset interrogandas, sed solummodo ad patres nostros, quibus omnino fidere jussit. Quia si a patribus similem traditionem de Mose haberemus, ac de Christo habemus, scilicet quæcunque Moses scripsit taliter non gesta fuisse, cujus patres fuissent oculares testes, profecto nec Mosi, neque ejus scriptis plusquam Evangelio crederemus: Igitur propter rationem qua illi credimus, isti fidem præstare nequimus.—Tert. Script. num. ii. pp. 129, 130. ib.

Omittamus cætera omnia miracula quæ Deus per tot continua secula per prophetas, ut legis Mosis divinitas assereretur, præstitit: sed solum notetur, quod hæc omnia coram toto populo effecta fuere: ut de iis non amplius dubitare liceret. Quod si Christus jam ex mortuis suscitatus toti Israëlis cætui publice dixisset: 'Audi Israël, ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, qui eduxi te de terra Ægypti: et nunc de majore captivitate peccati, quem tu sacrilegus occidisti;' Abs dubio totus Israël credidisset, usque in præsentem diem, nec dubitationi locus relinqueretur. Veruntamen populus talibus publicis portentis, et miraculis assuetus, pro suæ legis veritate tuenda, et confirmanda editis, aliquorum hominum enarrationi fidem adhibere non potuit; quin a Deo, et ab eo lata lege deficere vereretur. Profecto ego nescio quomodo comparari possit: quod aliqui homines dixerint se vidisse Jesum redivivum in cœlum ascendere, cum illa mirabili visione, qua totus ille innumerabilis populus, nemine excepto, vocem Domini Dei sui ex monte loquentis audivit.—Tert. Script. num. iii. p. 132. Goudæ, 1687. See also Maimonides, de Fundamentis Legis, cap. viii., which is the passage probably meant in the text, because referred to by Thorndike himself, de Ration. finiendi Controvers., cap. ii. p. 15. Londini. 1670.

that obscure the glory of Christ's resurrection, foretold by Him expressly, to witness the truth of His message? Shall it make an ocean of miracles, done by Him and His Apostles, to stand for nothing? Shall it disable God Himself to do anything competent to make faith of a message, the nature whereof bore not those circumstances which He had used afore?

The motives of faith are the reason why the Scriptures are to be believed.

§ 18. Now if the reason why we believe the Scriptures to come from God, as they pretend, be the motives of Christianity, strange it is that a man should be troubled how to answer the difficulty that may be made, how we know the truth of those motives, speaking only to Christians, which have admitted them to be true. But I am sure neither the witness of the Church, nor the dictate of the Spirit, can be alleged to infidels, but by them that would have themselves and the Gospel laughed at both at once. Seeing therefore that Christians do believe for the same reasons, for the which infidels ought to believe, I shall yield that it is only the credit of God's ancient people, and of Christ's Church, that makes evidence that those miracles were truly done which I affirm
12 to be the only motive to believe, being done at such distance of time and place from us.

And the consent of God's people the reason that evidences those motives to be infallibly true.

§ 19. But let not those that would learn mistake what is meant by the name of the Church. For if you suppose the Church to be a society of men, whereof some, by God's appointment, have power to oblige the whole, then will the credit of the Scripture be resolved into the authority of the Church, if the truth of those miracles on which alone the credit thereof is said to depend, be grounded upon such a witness of the Church. But my meaning is, to suppose no more by the name of the Church in this place, but the whole number of believers from Christ to the world's end; and so to say, that there is no other reason why we believe that such men as Moses and the prophets, as our Lord and His Apostles, did such works as the Scriptures report, to evidence that they came from God, but the consent of all Christians that have embraced the Gospel upon that motive. Neither shall the Gospel hereby depend more upon the witness of man, which may fail, than it depends upon the witness of him who, upon seeing what was done by our Lord and His Apostles,

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should be moved to embrace the faith. For though they had not taken effect with him, but for the report of his eyes, yet did not the force of them depend upon it. He that considers, shall find that the consent of all believers, in the whole motive of faith, more than supplies the use of our eyes, in shewing us sufficient reason to believe.

[The evidence of common sense of mankind.]

§ 20. There is a distance of place as well as of time; and God forbid we should say those that never saw our Lord and His Apostles do the works for which we believe, had not sufficient reason to believe. Their ears supplied to them the use of their eyes, inasmuch as experience and common sense shews that those things wherein the world agrees are no less certain and evident, though morally, than those which we see with our eyes. He that should not traffic into the East or West Indies, or travel to Rome or Constantinople, before he had seen them, must resolve not to see them. The reason is, because the world can have no common interest to deceive or to be deceived; much less could the law of Moses, least of all the Gospel of Christ, have found credit—the one imposing such an endless morosity of precepts to observe, the other the cross of Christ—had it not been originally manifest that such things were done to evidence that and this. By which it appears that this reason supposes no authority in the Church, founded upon the Gospel, as a society communicating in it, because it supposes the same in the people of the Jews as in the Church; the authority of the Church standing upon the Gospel, that which was over the Jews on the law, whereof the one was to be removed when the other took place. The reason, because it referreth nothing to the Church[h] but that intelligence which the community of mankind furnish one another with, for assurance, in those things whereof all cannot be eye-witnesses, by the consent of all, which common reason makes to be as good evidence as our own senses.

How the Scriptures are believed for themselves.

§ 21. And now it will not be difficult to say how the Scriptures are to be believed for themselves. For inasmuch as the motives of believing are things recorded in Scripture, it will be necessary to grant that the Scriptures are to be believed

[h] "Referreth nothing to the Church, but the common conversation of men with men furnishes that intelligence of things not subject to their senses, which renders them as sure as that which they see." MSS.

for themselves, which are to be believed for those things which the Scriptures report. But if we be further demanded for what reason those motives which, if true, are sufficient to oblige all men to believe, are taken to be true? he that says because they are recorded in the Scriptures, grants that there is no reason to believe the Scriptures, granting that there is no reason to believe the motives of faith but the report of those Scriptures, the belief whereof supposes the truth of those motives. But if we impute the belief of that truth to the common sense of all, who upon the supposition of them have submitted to Christianity and hold it, we have the whole truth of the Scripture evidenced upon such a ground as shall serve to enforce a resolution of whatsoever is questionable in Christianity upon it. Whereas they who make the authority of the Church, or the dictate of the Holy Ghost, the reason of believing, must either stand still when they are demanded the reason, or give it by supposing Christianity and the Scriptures, the truth whereof they pretend to prove by it, which is the circle that I spoke of afore[1], admitting neither principle nor conclusion of discourse.

13 § 22. To confirm that which hath been said, let me demand how the writings of Homer or Virgil, of Aristotle or Plato, of Tully or Demosthenes, of Hippocrates or Galen, come to be admitted without any question, for their writings, after some two thousand years, more or less? Is it not because ever since they were penned there have been those that have studied them for patterns of good language and oratory, for the best authors in philosophy and physic? Because, by them, and through their hands, they have been transmitted from age to age? Is not their credit by this means so unquestionable, that a man would be laughed at, that should ask other reason for it? And yet, what is this in comparison of that which is to be said for the Scriptures? That, all nations having started aside to worship many gods, one people of the Jews took upon them the worship of the only true God, according to the laws recorded in the books of Moses, and that of so ancient time. That, being planted in the land of Canaan, God stirred them up prophets from age to age, to keep them close to the service of their God. That how

[1] Sect. 2.

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they kept them, they always professed to be under those laws as God's. That our Lord Jesus, and His Apostles by commission from Him, in due time preached both Jews and Gentiles to be rebels against God; and that neither the law of nature nor of Moses was able to free them from sin; tendering in God's name the terms upon which all may be reconciled to God, and evidencing their commission by the works which they did in God's name. That all parts of the civil world, being by that means convicted of the truth hereof, undertook to profess Christianity, notwithstanding the persecutions to which it was liable, and to continue in it till this time.

§ 23. Is not this infallible evidence that we have the very writings of Moses, and of the prophets and Apostles, and that they who left them us were sent by God, seeing them admitted for laws to men's lives and conversations, which nothing but sufficient evidence that they came from God could have brought to pass? Here if any man should say I know I have the writings of Homer, Aristotle or Tully, by the writings themselves, he might be convicted by tendering them to one that knows nothing of Tully, or Homer, or Aristotle, and asking him whether he can say by those books whether they be Homer's or Aristotle's or Tully's writings. But he that first understands what account the world always hath had their writings in, and studying them, finds the marks in them, may well say that he knows the authors by their writings. So, tender the Scriptures in the Hebrew or Greek to a savage of the West Indies, and ask him whether they be the Word of God or not, who believes not in God as yet, do you believe he can tell you the truth? But convict him of that which I have said, how and by what means they came to our hands, how they have been and are owned for laws to the hearts and lives of God's people, and he will stand convict before God if he believe not, finding that written in the books which the men own for the rule of their conversations. So by the same means that all records of learning are conveyed us, are the Scriptures evidenced to be matter of historical faith. But, inasmuch as the matter of them had never been received but by the work of God, in that regard they become matter of supernatural faith, in regard of the reason moving in the

nature of an object to believe, as well as in regard of God's grace moving in the nature of an effective cause.

How a circle is made in rendering a reason of the faith.

§ 24. I know there have been divers answers made to assoil this difficulty by those that dispute controversies, that the Scripture's authority is better known in order of nature, the Church's in that order by which we get our knowledge[k]; as logicians and philosophers use to distinguish between *notius naturâ* and *notius nobis*, because our knowledge rises upon experience which we have by sense of particulars, and yet the general reason, being once attained by that means, is in some sense better known than that which depends upon it; that the authority of the Scripture is the reason why we believe, but the authority of the Church a condition requisite to the same[l], creating in the minds of men that discreetly consider it a kind of inferior faith, though infallible, which dis-

[k] "The Church's authority then being more known unto us than the Scriptures, may well be some reason of our admitting them, yet the Scriptures still retain their prerogative above the Church. For being God's immediate revelation, they require a greater respect and reverence, than the mere tradition of the Church. Whence it is, likewise, that our authors do here commonly distinguish two sorts of certainty, the one *ex parte objecti*, the other *ex parte subjecti*. The first proceeds from the clearness of the object; the other from the adhesion—as philosophers call it—of the will, which makes the understanding stick so close to the object, that it cannot be separated from it. This latter kind of certainty hath chiefly place in faith: a thing unknown to Aristotle. Whence it is that when we believe, we do adhere more firmly to the articles of faith, than to any principle whatsoever, though evident to natural reason: which firm adhesion of ours is grounded partly on the greatness and nobleness of the object, and partly on the importance of the matter; which is such that our salvation depends upon it. For that immediate revelation, namely the Scripture, being in itself of so much greater worth and dignity than the Church's mere tradition, doth worthily more draw our affection than the other, notwithstanding the other be more known to us, and the cause of our admitting this."—Labyrinthus Cantuariensis, by T. C. [Thomas Carwell.] p. 60. Paris. 1658.

[l] Quare interroganti, cur credas, seu unde scias, hæc omnia et singula quæ credis esse divinitus revelata; recte respondebis, te id quidem, evidenter non scire; quin etiam credere formaliter, non ob aliam rationem credendi objectivam: attamen certe credere ob eam ipsam revelationem divinam, qua objecta ejusmodi credenda revelata sunt, mediante infallibili Ecclesiæ propositione tibi patefactam, quæ quidem propositio non sit ratio ultima credendi sed medium per quod objecta credenda, simul cum ratione credendi, tibi debito modo applicentur; adeoque conditio, sine qua juxta legem Dei ordinariam, credenda omnia et singula a non credendis discernere non potuisses.—Tanner. Theol. Schol. tom. iii. Disp. i. *de Fide* Q. v. Dub. v. § 174. pp. 346, 347. Ingoldstad. 1626.

Hic enim est divinæ providentiæ ordo, ut mediantibus aliis ad summa tendamus. Nam et ipsi prophetæ ad suas revelationes non sine ministerio Angelorum acceperunt . . . Sic et ipse Decalogus in dispositione Angelorum datus est. Tale ergo est Ecclesiæ ministerium, vox, testimonium, non causa formalis, et per se movens ad credendum, seu talis in qua sistat fidelis animus: sed causa adjuvans, necessaria tamen, denique conditio et modus loquentis ad nos Dei.—Stapleton. Princip. Fid. Controv. iv. lib. viii. cap. xxii. p. 319. Paris. 1582.

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poses a man to accept the matter of that faith which God only revealeth, though the reason why we believe is only the act of God revealing that which He obligeth us to believe. But all this to no purpose, so long as they suppose the foundation of the Church in the nature of a corporation, for the ground of admitting the matter of faith, not the credit of all believers agreeing in witnessing the motives of faith. 14

§ 25. I remember in my younger time in Cambridge an observation out of Averroes the Saracen's[m] Commentaries upon Aristotle, which as I find exactly true, so may it be of good use; that in geometry and the mathematics the same thing is *notius naturâ* and *nobis*, to wit, the first principles and rudiments of those sciences, which, being evident, as soon as understood, produce in time those conclusions which no stranger to those studies can imagine how they should be discovered; for being offered to the understanding that comprehends the meaning of them, they require no experience of particulars which sense and time brings forth, to frame a general conceit of that in which all agree, or to pronounce what holds in all particulars; because it is immediately evident that the same holds in all particulars, as in one, which a man has before his eyes. The like is to be said of the process in hand, though the reason be far otherwise. He that considers may see that the motives of faith, assured to the common sense and reason of all men, by the consent of believers, are immediately the reason why we believe the Scriptures in which they are recorded to be the Word of God, without so much as supposing any such thing as a Church in the nature of a corporation, endowed with authority over those of whom it consists; the consent of Christians as particular persons, obliging common reason, both to believe the Scriptures, and whatever that belief infers.

§ 26. As this must be known before we can believe the

[m] Et, cum declaravit naturam demonstrationis, qua utitur hic, reddit causam et dixit, *illa enim, quæ sunt cognita apud nos* &c. id est, et causa in hoc quod via, per quam itur in hac scientia, debet esse a rebus posterioribus in esse ad res priores in esse, est quia illa, quæ sunt cognita apud nos in rebus naturalibus, non sunt illa quæ sunt cognita simpliciter, id est, naturaliter; quod est contrarium in mathematicis; illa enim quæ sunt cognita in illis simpliciter et sunt causæ priores in esse, sunt cognita apud nos.—Comm. in Physic. Audit., lib. i. cap. ii. Arist. Opp. tom. iv. fol. 4. Venet. 1550.

Scriptures, so being known, it must be, if any be, the only reason why we believe either the Scriptures, or that Christianity which they convey unto us. And if it be the only reason why we believe, then is it better known in order of reason as well as of sense to be true, than the authority of the Church, the knowledge whereof must resolve into the reason why we are Christians. And if this be true, then is not the authority of the Church—as a corporation to be obliged by the act of some members—so much as a condition requisite to induce any man to believe; all men, by having the only true reason why all are to believe, being subject to condemnation if they believe not; but not if they believe not the corporation of the Church, unless it may appear to be a part of that faith, which that only reason moves us to believe. Neither doth the credit which we give to all Christians, witnessing the motives of faith to be true by submitting to Christianity in regard of them, create in us any inferior faith of the nature of human, because the witness of man conveys the motives thereof to our knowledge; but serves us to the same use as men's eyes and other senses served them when they saw those things done which Moses and the prophets, which our Lord and His Apostles did, to induce men to believe that they came from God.

§ 27. For as true as it is that if God have provided such signs to attest His commission, then we are bound to believe; so true is it that if all Christians agree, that God did procure them to be done, then did He indeed procure them to be done that men might believe. For so great a part of mankind could not be out of their wits all at once: let not therefore those miracles which God hath provided to attest the commissions of Moses and the prophets, of our Lord and His Apostles, be counted common and probable motives to believe, unless we will confess that we have none but common and probable motives. For what reason can we have to believe that shall not depend upon their credit? unless it be the light of natural reason, which may make that which they preach more evidently credible, but never evidently true. If these works were provided by God to oblige us to believe, then is that faith which they create truly divine, and the work of God; though had all men been blind they had not

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been seen, and had all men been out of their wits, we might presume that they had agreed in an imposture.

§ 28. And now it will be easy to answer the words of St. Augustine *contra Epistolam Fundamenti* cap. v., which always have a place in this dispute, though I can as yet admit St. Augustine no otherwise than as a particular Christian, and his saying as a presumption that he hath said no more than any Christian would have said in the common cause of all Christians against the Manichees. *Ego Evangelio non crederem,* saith he, *nisi me Ecclesiæ Catholicæ commoveret auctoritas.* "I would not believe," or "have believed, the Gospel, had not the authority of the Catholic Church moved me." For some men have employed a great deal of learning to shew that *commoveret* stands for *commovisset*[n], as in many other places both of St. Augustine and of other African writers. And without doubt they have shewed it past contradiction, and I would make no doubt to shew the like in St. Hierome, Sidonius, and other writers of the decaying ages of the Latin tongue, as well as in the African writers, if it were any thing to the purpose. For is not the question, manifestly, what it is that obligeth that man to believe who as yet believeth not? Is it not the same reason that obliges him to become, and to be, a Christian? Therefore whether *commoveret* or *commovisset,* all is one: the question is, whether the authority of the Church as a corporation, that is, of those persons who are able to oblige the Church, would have moved St. Augustine to believe the Gospel, because they held it to be true; or the credit of the Church as of so many men of common sense, attesting the truth of those reasons which the Gospel tenders, why we ought to believe.

§ 29. What is it then that obliged St. Augustine to the Church? The consent of people and nations, that authority

[n] Ego vero non crederem Evangelio, nisi me commoveret Catholicæ Ecclesiæ authoritas. Quod illi idem est ac si diceret, Ego sane talis olim eram cum a vobis Manichæis discederem, ut Evangelio non credidissem, nisi me commovisset Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Authoritas . . . . . Quod vero hoc genus dicendi peculiare habeat, quo *crederem* pro *credidissem*, et *commoveret* pro *commovisset* usurpare soleat: notum est diligenti scriptorum illius lectori. Libr. Confess. 2. cap. 8. de furto quod puer admiserat, sic dicit. . . . . Ubi videmus ab illo totam periodum hac esse loquendi formula perfectam, qua *amarem* pro *amavissem*, *cuperem* pro *cupivissem*, *possem* pro *potuissem*, *esset* pro *fuisset*, *pervenirem* pro *pervenissem*, et *accenderem* pro *accendissem* posuit.—Musculi Loc. Commun. *de Sacris Scripturis*, p. 229. Basil. 1560.

which miracles had begun, which hope had nourished, charity increased, succession of time settled, from St. Peter to the present, the name and title of Catholic so visible that no heretic durst shew a man the way to his Church, demanding the way to the Catholic. So he expresseth it, cap. iv.[o] And what is this in English, but the conversion of the Gentiles foretold by the prophets, attested by God, and visibly settled in the unity of the Church? Whereupon he may boldly affirm, as he doth afterwards, that if there were any word in the Gospel manifestly witnessing Manes to be the Apostle of Christ, he would not believe the Gospel any more[p]. For if the reason for which he had once believed the Church that the Gospel is true—because he saw it verified in the being of the Church—should be supposed false, there could remain no reason to oblige us to take the Gospel for true.

§ 30. All that remains for the Church in the nature and quality of a corporation, by this account, will be this, that it is more discretion for him that is in doubt of the truth of Christianity, to take the reason of it from the Church, that is, from those whom the Church trusteth to give it, than from particular Christians, who can by no means be presumed to understand it so well as they may do. For otherwise, supposing a particular Christian sets forth the same reasons which the Church does, how can any man not be bound to follow him, that is bound to follow the Church? So that the reasons

[o] In Catholica enim Ecclesia ut omittam sincerissimam sapientiam, ad cujus cognitionem pauci spiritales in hac vita perveniunt, ... ut ergo hanc omittam sapientiam, quam in Ecclesia esse Catholica non creditis; multa sunt alia quæ in ejus gremio me justissime teneant. Tenet consensio populorum atque gentium, tenet auctoritas miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, caritate aucta, vetustate firmata; tenet ab ipsa sede Petri Apostoli, cui pascendas oves suas post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit, usque ad præsentem Episcopatum successio sacerdotum: tenet postremo ipsum Catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causa inter tam multas hæreses sic ista Ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se Catholicos dici velint, quærenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus hæreticorum vel basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere.—S. August. Opp., contra Epistolam Manichæi, tom. viii. col. 153. ed. Ben.

[p] Quocirca si mihi rationem redditurus es, dimitte Evangelium. Si ad Evangelium te tenes, ego me ad eos teneam, quibus præcipientibus Evangelio credidi; et his jubentibus tibi omnino non credam. Quod si forte in Evangelio aliquid apertissimum de Manichæi apostolatu invenire potueris, infirmabis mihi Catholicorum auctoritatem, qui jubent ut tibi non credam: qua infirmata, jam nec Evangelio credere potero, quia per eos illi credideram: ita nihil apud me valebit, quidquid inde protuleris. Quapropter se nihil manifestum de Manichæi apostolatu in Evangelio reperitur, Catholicis potius credam quam tibi.—*Ibid.*, col. 154. ed. Ben.

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§ 31. But by the premises it will be most manifest that the same circle in discourse is committed by them who resolve the reason why they believe into the dictate of the Spirit[r], as into the decree of the Church. For the question is not now of the effective cause, whether or no, in that nature, a man is able to embrace the true faith without the assistance of God's Spirit or not; which ought here to remain questionable, because it is to be tried upon the grounds which here we are seeking. And therefore that faith which is grounded upon revelation from God, and competent evidence of the same, is to be counted divine supernatural faith, without granting —whatsoever we may suppose—any supernatural operation of God's Spirit to work it in the nature of an effective cause, which must remain questionable, supposing the reason why we believe the Scriptures. But in the nature of an object, presenting unto the understanding the reason why we are to believe, it is manifest by the premises that no man can know that he hath God's Spirit, that knoweth not the truth of the Scriptures.

§ 32. If therefore he allege that he knows the Scriptures to be true, because God's Spirit saith so to his spirit, he allegeth 16

[q] Stapleton, quoting Waldensis for the opinion expressed in the text, proceeds to reply to the argument thus: Verum ad hæc respondendo dicimus, aliud esse credere Christo propter vocem Ecclesiæ, aliud credere Scripturis propter eandem. Nam Christo sic credimus ex auditu Ecclesiæ, ut pariter quoque—si vere credimus—Spritu Christi cor illuminante, non tam propter vocem Ecclesiæ quam propter loquelam internam Spiritus ejus in nobis loquentis credamus Christo: Ipsomet videlicet per Spiritum gratiæ loquente nobis, et non per solam Samaritanam illam sponsam suam. Scripturæ vero quatenus Scripturæ sunt, id est, verbum Scriptum, nunquam sic interne loquuntur nobis, ut potius propter Scripturam quam propter Ecclesiam credamus. Sed semper opus est testimonio Ecclesiæ vel aliqua revelatione immediata extra Scripturas, ut Scripturis quatenus verbo Scripto credamus.—Controv. vii. lib. xii. cap. xvi. p. 469. Paris. 1582.

Malderus saith, Ideoque recte notant quidam, nos posse dicere Ecclesiæ quando jam credimus, quod Samaritani dicebant mulieri.—2da 2dæ Qu. 1. art. i. § 7. p. 6. Antwerp. 1616.

[r] See note u sect. 2. above.

for a reason that which he could not know, but supposing that for granted, which he pretendeth to prove, to wit, that the dictate of his own spirit is from God's Spirit. Indeed when the motives of faith proceed from God's Spirit in Moses and the prophets, in our Lord and His Apostles, witnessing, by the works which they do, their commission as well as their message, who can deny that this is the light of God's Spirit? Again, when we govern our doings by that which we believe, and not by that which we see, who will deny that this is the light of faith and of God's Spirit? But both these considerations take place, though we suppose the matter of faith to remain obscure in itself, though to us evidently credible, for the reason God shews us, to believe that He saith it. If any man seek in the matter of faith any evidence to assure the conscience, in the nature of an object, or reason why we are to believe, that is not derived from the motives of faith, outwardly attesting God's act of revealing it, he falls into the same inconvenience with those who believe their Christianity because the Church commends it, and again the Church because Christianity commends it.

The Scriptures are God's law to all to whom they are published by God's act of publishing them.

§ 33. As for that monstrous imagination[s] that the Scripture is not law to oblige any man in justice to believe it, before the secular powers give it force over their subjects: supposing for the present that which I said before, that it is all one question whether Christianity or whether the Scriptures oblige us as law or not, let me demand whether our Lord Christ and His Apostles have shewed us sufficient reasons to convince us that we are bound to believe and become Christians? If not, why are we Christians? If so, can we be obliged, and no law to oblige us? Supposing for the present[t], though not granting, because it is not true, that by refusing Christianity sufficiently proposed, a man comes not under sin, but only comes not from under it, but remains under that sin, which by refusing the Gospel he refuses to escape, the man whom God shews competent reasons to convict him of the truth of Christianity, does He not therefore oblige to believe? If so, then is Christianity, by those reasons, and by our Lord and His Apostles' advancing them, published for God's law, to all them to whom those reasons become known.

[s] See chap. ii. sect. 9. note k.

[t] See chap. xi. sect. 14.

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§ 34. Suppose that not only the Apostles but God Himself do no more than persuade men to believe, can any secular power do more? For what can it do more, in making a law, than declare the will of the sovereign under a punishment expressed? And doth not God declare, when He sends those that are furnished with means to convict the world of the truth of Christianity, that it is His will that they become Christians? And is it not competent punishment to enact a law that, by disobeying, men become incapable of escaping their own sin, and the punishment of it? If Christianity be no law, because a man hath his choice whether he will believe or not, hath not a thief his choice whether he will be hanged or not steal? or is not the mischief that comes by refusing the faith as great as that? As for the point of justice, is not gratitude justice? doth not God oblige them in point of justice, whom He obligeth in point of gratitude? doth He not oblige them in point of gratitude, whom, by His Gospel, He shews the way to come from under sin to everlasting happiness? Again, is it not justice that mankind should be subjects and not rebels to God? doth not the Gospel preach that mankind are become rebels to God, and that they ought to return and become His subjects? If we can owe a debt of justice to God or to ourselves, the greatest is that which the Gospel bindeth upon us.

§ 35. But suppose not only that which this dogmatist granteth[u], that he who is bound to renounce Christ with his mouth when his sovereign commandeth, is bound to believe Him with his heart at the same time, let me demand by what law he is bound to it, if the Scriptures be not law? Or how a man can be bound to believe in heart that our Lord Jesus is the Christ, and not be bound to receive either the matter or the motives to believe that which Christ teacheth, which is all that the Scriptures contain? Wherefore we are by no means to admit that which this author presumes upon as evident truth[v], that it is one thing to demand why a man believes the

[u] See chap. ii. sect. 10. note l.

[v] "It is a question much disputed between the divers sects of Christian religion, from whence the Scriptures derive their authority; which question is also propounded sometimes in other terms, as, how we know them to be the Word of God, or, why we believe them to be so: and the difficulty of resolving it ariseth chiefly from the improperness of the words wherein the question itself is couched. For it is believed on

Scriptures, another thing to demand how a man knows them
17 to be the Word of God, and a third by what authority they become law; because, saith he, one man believes for this reason, another for that; but to know the Scripture to be the Word of God is a thing that no man can do, but only he to whom this or that Scripture was revealed. For it is true that one man believes for this reason, another for that, if they believe not for that reason for which they ought to believe.

§ 36. But there is but one reason for which God requires us to believe, namely, His will, declared by the motives of faith, which He, by His messengers or deputies hath presented us with; and he that is moved to believe for any reason beside that, is but called a believer, for he is not such in God's esteem. And he that by these reasons stands convict, that those messengers came from God, though he cannot know by the report of his senses, nor by any evidence of the matter which they contain, that the Scriptures are the Word of God, yet may he reasonably be said to know that they are so, because he knows those reasons by which he stands convict that they are no otherwise.

But civil law, by the act of sovereign powers, in acting Christianity upon their subjects.

§ 37. And I have now further shewed, that the publishing of Christianity, that is, the tendering of the Scriptures with this evidence, that they contain the word and will of God, binds them for a law upon the consciences of all that receive them so, obliging them not only to believe all that they contain to be true, but to undertake and do whatsoever they require. Wherefore it is true, that the Scriptures, or Christianity, becomes the civil law of a state, because the sovereign power thereof enacteth it; but we are further to demand, whether secular power is able to do this because it is sovereign, or because it is Christian. For if because it is sovereign, it will follow of necessity, that those who are not subject to Christian powers, are not obliged to believe the truth of the

all hands, that the first and original author of them is God; and consequently the question disputed is not that. Again, it is manifest that none can know they are God's Word—though all true Christians believe it—but those to whom God Himself hath revealed it supernaturally; and therefore the question is not rightly moved, of our knowledge of it. Lastly, when the question is propounded of our belief, because some are moved to believe for one, and others for other reasons, there can be rendered no one general answer for them all. The question truly stated is, by what authority they are made law."—Hobbes, part iii. chap. 33. p. 205. London, 1651.

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Scriptures, nor to be Christians, if there be no other law to require it at their hands but the will of their sovereign[x]; because the only reason which, this opinion saith, obliges them to believe, that is, the act of sovereign power, is wanting. If because it is Christian, the question will have recourse, what it was that obliged the sovereign power to become Christian. For the act of sovereign power hath no effect upon itself, but upon those that are under it; and yet the same reason why the sovereign power is bound to believe, will convince all that are under it, that they also ought to believe, because concerning them as men, or at least as those men whom the motives of faith are published to, not as of this or that commonwealth. But in this business I am most ashamed for Euclid's sake, that a man so studied in Geometry[y], should build such a vast pretence in Christianity, upon such an imaginary ground.

§ 38. Forsooth, Abraham and the patriarchs after him, and then Moses, had the sovereign power of their families, and of God's people; the patriarchs by their birth and estate, Moses by the contract of the Israelites, accepting of God for their civil sovereign, and Moses for His lieutenant. The same patriarchs and Moses were absolute in matters of religion, because God's people their inferiors, were to be ruled in it by no other laws than those which God published to them by the hands of those superiors. He that will go about to draw the conclusion from these principles—whether granted or only supposed—shall easily see that it follows not. For half an eye will serve to distinguish two qualities in the patriarchs and in Moses, the one of sovereigns, the other of prophets, or deputies and commissaries, or interpreters of the will of God to His people. And this distinction being made, I will not be beholden to any man to say which of the two it was, that could oblige their inferiors to obey, as God's laws, those things which persons so authorized should declare in His name[z]. For if those whom God by sufficient evidence had

[x] sovereign power. MSS.

[y] Alluding to Hobbes' Elementorum Philosophiæ Sectio prima, de Corpore quatuor Partibus. Londini, 1655.

[z] Hobbes's conclusion from these facts is as follows:—"The covenant God made with Abraham, in a supernatural manner was thus: 'This is the covenant which thou shalt observe between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee.' Abraham's seed had not this revelation, nor were yet in being; yet they are a party to the covenant, and bound to obey what Abraham should declare to them for God's law; which they could not be but in virtue of the

witnessed to be His prophets and messengers, should falsify His trust, the blame of that which should be done upon such deceit must needs redound upon God. And therefore this author p. 231, 237[a], agreeth with that which I argued even now[b], that revelations and inspirations of God's Spirit are not granted under the Gospel, but to those who profess the true Christ; nor under the law were granted, but to those who professed the true God. And for this cause they are called by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 7, "the manifestation of the Spirit;"
18 because they manifest the presence of God in His Church. As 1 Cor. xiv. 22—25, he saith, that unbelievers, seeing the secrets of their hearts revealed by those graces, were moved to fall on their faces, and worship God, declaring that God is in His Church of a truth.

§ 39. Those therefore who are thus witnessed by God, upon His witness are to be received, whatsoever they deliver

obedience they owed to their parents, who —if they be subject to no other earthly power, as here in the case of Abraham—have sovereign power over their children and servants. Again, where God saith to Abraham, 'In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed'.... it is manifest the obedience of his family who had no revelation, depended on their former obligation to obey their sovereign. At mount Sinai Moses only went up to God; the people were forbidden to approach on pain of death; yet were they bound to obey all that Moses declared to them for God's law. Upon what grouud but on this submission of their own, 'Speak thou to us and we will hear thee.' .. By which two places it sufficiently appeareth that in a commonwealth a subject that has no certain and assured revelation particularly to himself concerning the will of God, is to obey for such, the command of the commonwealth,.... I conclude therefore, that in all things not contrary to the moral law, that is to say to the law of nature, all subjects are bound to obey that for Divine law, which is declared to be so, by the laws of the commonwealth."—Leviathan, part ii. chap. 26. p. 149.

[a] "Every man then was, and now is bound to make use of his natural reason, to apply to all prophecy those rules which God hath given us, to discern the true from the false. Of which rules in the Old Testament, one was conformable doctrine to that which Moses the sovereign prophet had taught them, and the other the miraculous power of foretelling what God would bring to pass..... And in the New Testament, there was but one only mark, and that was the preaching of this doctrine, that Jesus is the Christ, that is, the king of the Jews promised in the Old Testament. Whosoever denied that article, he was a false prophet, whatsoever miracles he might seem to work, and he that taught it was a true prophet. For St. John speaking expressly of the means to examine spirits whether they be of God or not, after he had told them that there would arise false prophets, saith thus, 'Hereby know ye the Spirit of God, every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God;' that is, is approved and allowed, as a prophet of God; not that he is a godly man or one of the elect, for this that he confesseth, professeth or preacheth Jesus to be the Christ, but for that he is a prophet avowed."—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 36. p. 231.

"That we take not any for prophets, that teach any other religion, than that which God's lieutenant—which at that time was Moses—hath established, nor any—though he teach the same religion—whose prediction we do not see come to pass."—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 37. p. 237. London, 1651.

[b] Chap. iii. sects. 10, 11.

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in God's name, concerning either the law of Moses or the Gospel of Christ. For how can any man imagine, that upon every new revelation declared by a prophet, upon every new letter written, or act done by an Apostle, a new evidence should be requisite to attest a new commission from God? Especially the presumption, that God will not suffer His people to be abused by trusting Him, being necessary and not only reasonable. Since therefore our Lord and His Apostles carry this quality, no less than did Moses and the prophets, it follows of necessity, that their writings, and what else they may have ordained, are no less the law of God, no less obliging, than the law of Moses, by virtue of their commission, which makes their acts in God's name to be God's acts; though civil law they are not, till civil powers bind them upon their subjects.

CHAPTER IV.

NEITHER THE DICTATE OF GOD'S SPIRIT NOR THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IS THE REASON OF BELIEVING ANY THING IN CHRISTIANITY. WHETHER THE CHURCH BE BEFORE THE SCRIPTURE, OR THE SCRIPTURE BEFORE THE CHURCH. THE SCRIPTURES CONTAIN NOT THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH. NOR THE CONSENT OF ALL CHRISTIANS.

Neither the dictate of God's Spirit nor the authority of the Church is the reason of believing any thing in Christianity.

It is now time to proceed to the resolution of some part of those disputes and opinions which we shewed the world divided into[c], upon occasion of the question how controversies of faith are to be tried and ended; that is to say, so much of them, as must be determined by him that will proceed in this dispute. For supposing the premises to be true, I shall not make any difficulty to conclude, that neither the dictate of the Spirit of God to the spirits of particular Christians—that is, the presumption of it—nor the authority of the Church—that is, the presumption of the like dictate to any persons that may be thought to have power of obliging the Church—is a competent reason to decide the meaning of the Scripture, or any controversy about matter of faith, obliging any man therefore to believe it. And by consequence, that the authority of the Church—that is, of persons authorized to give sentence in behalf of the body of the Church, here understood

[c] Chap. ii.

—is not infallible, which if it were, it must be without question admitted for a competent reason of believing all such sentences to be infallibly true. The truth of this conclusion is demonstrated by the premises, if any thing in a matter of this nature can be counted demonstrative.

§ 2. If whatsoever the Spirit of God can be presumed to dictate to the spirit of any Christian, presupposeth the truth of Christianity—as that which must try it, whether only a presumption or truth—then can no man's word, that professes Christianity, be the reason why another man should believe. For whosoever it is that gives the sentence, by professing Christianity, pretendeth to have a reason for what he professeth, which reason, and not his judgment, if it be good, obligeth all Christians, as well as him, to believe. For being once resolved, that we are obliged to believe whatsoever comes from those persons whom we are convinced to believe that God employed to declare His will to us; whatsoever is said to come from them, must for the same reason be received, and therefore by the same means said to come from them, as it is said that they came from God. On the other side, whatsoever cannot by the same means be said to come from them, can never by any means be said to come from God, who hath given us no other means to know what He would have us believe, but those whom He hath employed on His message.

§ 3. Wherefore, seeing the authority of the Church supposeth the truth of Christianity, of necessity it supposeth the reason for which whatsoever can be pretended to belong to Christianity is receivable; because, supposing for the present,
19 though not granting, that the Church is a body, which some persons by God's appointment have authority to oblige, it is manifest that no man can be vested with this authority, but he must bear the profession of a Christian, and by consequence, suppose the reasons upon which whatsoever belongs to the profession of a Christian is receivable. For that which cannot be derived, as for the evidence of it, from those means by which we stand convicted that Christianity stands upon true motives, cannot be receivable as any part of it. And therefore, however the generality of this reason may obscure the evidence of it to them that take not the pains to consider

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it as it deserves, yet the truth of it supposes no more than all use of reason supposes, that all knowledge that is to be had proceeds upon something presupposed to be known.

Whether the Church be before the Scripture, or the Scripture before the Church.

§ 4. In which case it would be very childish to consider that the Church is more ancient in time than the Scriptures[d], at least than some part of them, as the writings of the Apostles for example, and in some sort than all Scriptures, if we understand the people of God and the Church to be the same thing. For to pass by for the present the Fathers before the law, as the people of Israel were God's people by the covenant of the law, before they received the law written in the five books of Moses; so was the authority of Moses—employed by God to mediate that covenant—both good and sufficient before they, by accepting the law, became God's people. And upon this authority alone, and not upon any authority founded upon their being God's people—free and possessed of the land of promise, to be ruled by themselves and their own governors—dependeth the credit of Moses' and the prophets' writings. In like manner the being of the Church—whether a society and corporation or not—supposing the profession of Christianity, and that the receiving of the Gospel, which is the covenant of grace, and that the authority of our Lord and His Apostles, as sent by God to establish it; manifest it is, that the credit of their writings depends on nothing else, but is supposed to the being of the Church, whatsoever it is. Which if it be so, no less manifest it must be, that nothing is receivable for truth in Christianity that cannot be evidenced to proceed from that authority that is more ancient than the being of the Church, as a truth declared by some act of that authority.

[d] Respondeo, Simpliciter Ecclesiam esse priorem, et notiorem quam sit Scriptura: nam Ecclesia fuit ante Scripturam, et ipsi data est Scriptura a Deo, et ipsa eam aliis tradit et explicat; tamen aliquando ex hypothesi Scripturam esse notiorem, quando videlicet Scriptura est recepta, et clare loquitur, et oritur quæstio de ipsa Ecclesia: sicut interdum e contrario Ecclesia est recepta et nota, et quæstio oritur de Scriptura, et sic unum probatur ex altero, verbi gratia, quando disputabatur de baptismo hæreticorum, quia Scriptura obscure loquitur, et Ecclesia nota erat, Augustinus probabat secundum Scripturas ratum esse baptismum hæreticorum, quia Ecclesia illum habet pro rato. Contra, cum disputabatur de Ecclesia, an esset in sola Africa, quia Scripturæ receptæ, ut claræ erant, inde Augustinus probabat: et idem nos faciemus, cum deducemus notas Ecclesiæ ex Scripturis, sed non propterea Scriptura est simpliciter notior quam Ecclesia.—Bellarm. de Notis Ecclesiæ, cap. ii. col. 165. Colon. Agrippin. 1619.

§ 5. And therefore it would be childish to allege priority of time for the Church—if perhaps it may be said, in some regard, that the Church was before the Scriptures—when, in order of reason, it is evident that the truth of Christianity is supposed to the being of it, inasmuch as no man can be, or be known to be of the Church, but as he is, or is known to be, a Christian. And truly those that dispute the authority of the Church to be the reason to believe the sentence of it in matter of faith to be true, are to consider what they will say to that opinion which utterly denies any such authority, any such thing as a Church; understanding the Church to be a society founded by God's appointment, giving public authority to some persons so and so qualified by that appointment in behalf of the whole; for this all must deny, that admit Erastus's opinion of excommunication to be true, if they will admit the consequence of their own doctrine. Which opinion I have therefore premised[e] in stating this question, that it may appear to require such an answer as may not suppose the being of the Church in that nature, but may be a means to demonstrate it.

[The authority of the Church cannot be taken for granted.]

§ 6. But as it is not my intent to beg so great a thing in question, by proceeding upon supposition of any authority in the Church, before I can prove it to be a corporation founded with such authority as the foundation of it requireth, so is it as far from my meaning to deny that authority which I do not suppose. For he that denieth the authority of the Church to be the reason why any thing is to be taken for truth, or for the meaning of the Scripture, may take the due and true authority of the Church to be a part of that truth which is more ancient than the authority of the Church; inasmuch as it must be believed that God hath founded a society of them which profess Christianity, by the name of the Church—giving such authority to some members of it in behalf of the whole as He pleased—before it can be believed that this or that is within the authority of the Church. For that there is a Church, and a public authority in it and for it, and what things they are that fall under that authority, if it be true, is part of that truth which our Lord and His Apostles, whose authority is more ancient than the Church, have declared.

[e] Chap. ii. sects. 9—12.

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§ 7. Indeed if it were true that the first truth which all Christians are to believe—and for the reason of it to believe every thing else—is the saying of persons so and so qualified in the Church, then were it evident that the belief of that which is questioned in religion could not be resolved into any other principle. But if it be manifest, by the motives of Christianity, that the authority of the Apostles is antecedent to it, that all Scripture, and the meaning of Scripture—which signifies nothing beside its own meaning—and tradition of the Apostles—if any such tradition over and above Scripture may appear—is true, not supposing it—as appears by the premises—then is the authority of the Church no ground of faith, and so not infallible. There are indeed sundry objections made, both out of Scripture and the Fathers, to weaken and to shake such an evident truth, which are not here to be related, till we have resolved, as well what is the reason of believing in controversies of faith as what is not. In the mean time, if we demand by what means any person that can pretend to give sentence in controversies of faith, knows his own sentence to be infallible, or upon what ground he gives sentence; he that answers by Scripture, or authority of writers that profess to have learned from the Scriptures, or reasons depending on the authority of our Lord and His Apostles, acknowledges the authority of the Church not to be the reason of believing, for what need we all this if it were? If he say by the same means for which these are receivable, that is, by revelation from God, it will be presently demanded to make evidence of such revelation, the same evidence as we have for the truth of the Scriptures; which because it cannot be done, therefore is this plea laid aside, even by them who nevertheless profess to embrace the communion of the Church of Rome, because they believe the Church to be infallible.

§ 8. But if it be destructive to all use of reason to deny the conclusion, admitting the premises, then let him never hope to prevail in any dispute that holds the conclusion, denying the premises. For to hold the sentence of the Church infallible, when the means that depend upon the authority of our Lord and His Apostles prove whatsoever is to be believed, without supposing any such thing; when revelation, independent upon their authority there is acknowledged to be

none; averreth infallibility in the sentence of the Church, denying the only principle that can infer it. And therefore those that speak things so inconsequent, so inconsistent, I shall not grant that they speak those things which themselves think and believe, but rather that like men upon the rack, they speak things which themselves may, and in some sort do, know not to be true. For whosoever holds an opinion which he sees an argument against that he cannot resolve, is really and truly upon the rack, and of necessity seeks to escape, by contradicting what himself confesseth otherwise. Which every man of necessity doth, who, acknowledging the reason of believing Christianity to lie in the authority of our Lord and His Apostles, challengeth nevertheless that infallibility, which is the reason of believing, to all sentences of the Church, the matter of which sentences, if it be true, the reason of them must depend immediately upon the same authority, upon which the authority of the Church which sentenceth dependeth.

§ 9. But the consequence of this assertion deserves further consideration, because all that follows depends upon it. Suppose that the Scriptures prove themselves to be the Word of God, by the reasons of believing contained in them, witnessed by the common sense of all Christians. For this admits no dispute. If the same consent can evidence any thing belonging to the matter of faith, that will appear to oblige the faith of all Christians, upon the same reason as the Scriptures do, whether contained in the Scriptures or not. For who will undertake that God could not have preserved Christianity without either Scriptures or new revelations? And therefore He chose the way of writing, not as of absolute necessity, but
21 as of incomparable advantage. If therefore God might have obliged man to believe any thing not delivered by writing, whether He hath or not will remain questionable, supposing the Scriptures to be the Word of God upon the ground aforesaid. Besides, there are many things so manifest in the Scriptures, that they can endure no dispute supposing the Scriptures to be the Word of God; many things are every day cleared more and more by applying the knowledge of the languages and of historical truth to the text of the Scripture: and many things more may be cleared by applying the light

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of reason, void of partiality and prejudice, to draw the truth so cleared into consequence.

§ 10. No part of all this can be said to be held upon any decree of the Church, because no part of the evidence supposes the Church in the nature and quality of a corporation, the constitution whereof enableth some persons to oblige the whole. Because there are matters in question concerning our common Christianity and the sense of the Scriptures, upon which the great mischief of division is fallen out in the Church, it is thought a plausible plea to say[f] that the decree of the present Church—supposing the foundation of the Church in that nature, and the power given to every part in behalf of the whole, of which no evidence can be made, not supposing all that for truth which I have said—obligeth all Christians to believe as much as the Scriptures, supposing them to be the Word of God, can do. Which they that affirm do not consider that it must first be evident, to all that are to be obliged, both that the Church is so founded, and whose act it is, and how that act must be done which must oblige it. Seeing then that the Scriptures are admitted on all sides to be the Word of God, let us see whether it be as evident as the Scriptures, that the act of the Pope, or of a general council, or both, oblige the Church to believe the truth of that which they decree, as much as the Scriptures.

[Passages of Scripture for the infallibility of the Church.]

§ 11. I know there are texts of Scripture alleged[g]: first, concerning the Apostles and disciples, Matt. x. 14, 15, 40; Luke ix. 5; x. 10, 11, 16, where those that refuse them are in worse estate than Sodom and Gomorrha. And "he that heareth you, heareth Me; he that neglecteth you, neglecteth Me." Matt. xxviii. 19, 20: "Go make all nations disciples . . . teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you, and behold I am with you to the world's end." 1 Thess. ii. 13: "Ye received the Gospel of us, not as the word of men, but as it is indeed the Word of God." Then concerning St. Peter, as predecessor of all Popes, Matt. xvi. 18, 19: "Upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom

[f] See chap. ii. sect. 4. note f.

[g] These following passages are cited for the purpose in Bacon's—*alias* Southwell—Regula Viva, seu Analysis Fidei, Disp. i. cap. iv. pp. 13—17. Antwerp. 1638.

of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatsoever thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Luke xxii. 32: "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou, once converted, strengthen thy brethren." John xxi. 15—17: "Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." Again, concerning the Church and councils, Matt. xviii. 17—20: "If he hear them not, tell the Church: if he hear not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, if two of you agree on earth, upon any thing, to ask it, it shall be done them from My Father in heaven; for where two or three are assembled in My name, there am I in the midst of them." John xvi. 13: "The Spirit of truth shall lead you into all truth." Acts xv. 28: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." 1 Tim. iii. 15: "That thou mayest know how it behoveth to converse in the house of God, which is the Church of God, the pillar and establishment of the truth."

§ 12. You have further the exhortations of the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13: "Now I beseech you brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you: and esteem them more than abundantly in love, for their works' sake." Heb. xiii. 7, 17: "Be obedient, and give way to your rulers, for they watch for your souls, as those that must give account: that they may do it joyfully, and not groaning; which is not for your profit." And afore, "Remember your rulers which have spoken to you the Word of God: and, considering the issue of their conversation, imitate their faith." Those that spoke unto them the Word of God are the Apostles, or their companions and deputies, whom he commandeth them to obey no otherwise than those
22 who presently watched over them after their death. In the Old Testament likewise, Deut. xvii. 9—12, he that obeyeth not the determination of the court that was to sit before the ark is adjudged to death. Therefore Hag. ii. 11: "Thus saith the Lord, the God of hosts; ask the priests concerning the law." Mal. ii. 7: "The priest's lips shall preserve knowledge, and the law shall they require at his mouth. For he

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is the messenger of the Lord of hosts." The answers of the priests resolved into the decrees of the said court, therefore they are unquestionable. And this power established by the law, our Lord acknowledging the law, allows, Matt. xxiii. 2, 3: "The scribes and pharisees sit on Moses' chair: whatsoever therefore they command you that do: but according to their works do not."

The Scriptures contain not the infallibility of the Church.

§ 13. This is that which is alleged out of the Scriptures for that infallibility which is challenged for the Church. If I have left any thing behind, it will prove as ineffectual as the rest; in all which there are so many considerations appearing why the sense of them should be limited on this side, or extended beyond the body of the Church, that it is evident they cannot serve for evidence to ground the infallibility of it. For is it not evident that the neglect of the Apostles, in questioning their doctrine, redounds upon our Lord, who by sending them stamps on them the marks of His Father's authority, which He is trusted with? Not so the Church. For who can say that God gives any testimony to the lie which it telleth, seeing Christianity is supposed, the infallibility thereof remaining questionable? Is it not evident that God is with His Church, not as a corporation, but as the collection of many good Christians; supposing that those who have power to teach the Church by the constitution thereof, teach lies, and yet all are not carried away with their doctrine, but believe God's truth, so far as the necessity of their salvation requires? If there were any contradiction in this supposition, how could it be maintained in the Church of Rome, that so it shall be when Antichrist comes, as many do maintain[h]?

§ 14. Besides, is it as evident as Christianity, or the Scriptures, that this promise is not conditional, and to have effect, supposing both the teaching, and the following of that which our Lord hath taught, and nothing else? Surely if those that refuse the Gospel be in a worse state than those of Sodom

[h] Hæc autem Apostasia a fide non erit, sicut hæretici fingunt, ita generalis, ut fides vera a tota Christi Ecclesia peritura sit, hoc enim et fundamentum nullum habet et repugnat promissioni Christi: *et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam.* Matth. xvi. Et aliis verbis Ejus, Matth. xxiv. 'propter electos, breviabuntur dies illi' . . . . . Non deerunt ergo qui perseverent.—Suarez, Defens. Fid. Cath., lib. v. cap. x. § 17. col. 699. Colon. Agrippin. 1614. See also Bellarmin., De Romano Pontifice, lib. iii. cap. xvii. col. 767. Colon. Agrippin. 1620.

and Gomorrha, it followeth not yet that all that refuse to hear the Church without the Gospel are so. For the truth of the Gospel supposeth that there is no means but the Gospel to save us. But if we be saved by believing the Gospel, we may be saved, not believing that which the Church teacheth without it. For that which the Gospel obligeth us to believe unto salvation, it is agreed already that we cannot be saved without believing it. Suppose now the Church to continue till the last day, not as one visible body, but broken into pieces, as we see it, so that always there remain a number of good Christians—for whether or no they that communicate not with the Church of Rome may be good Christians, is the thing in question, not to be taken for truth without proving—shall the gates of hell be said to prevail against the Church all that while? Besides, Grotius[i] expounds those words to signify no more but this, that death and the grave—which ἅδης or hell in the style of the Old Testament signifies—shall never prevail over Christians; that is, that they shall rise again. And I suppose it is not so evident that this exposition is false, as that the Gospel is true.

§ 15. As for the keys of Christ's kingdom, let him that saith they argue infallibility say also that they cannot be abused; but he will have more shame, if not more sense, than to say it. The Thessalonians received the Gospel as the Word of God, because they supposed it to be λόγον ἀκοῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Word which God sent them news of. Would they therefore have received the decrees of the Church with the same reverence, not supposing them the Word of God, till some body prove it? But suppose the promises made St. Peter to import as much as the power of the Apostles, is it as evident that the present Pope succeeds St. Peter[k], as that

[i] De Diaboli aut etiam de improborum molitionibus tanto consensu hunc locum exponi valde miror. Nusquam enim reperio ἅδου vocem neque apud Hellenistas neque apud Novi Fœderis Scriptores in alia significatione quam aut mortis aut status post mortem quæ sunt inter se affinia . . . . populo credentium promittitur fore ut mors ipsa, cujus maximum et insatiabile est regnum, non eas vires habeat, ut eos detinere possit sub suo jure ac potestate.—Comment. in S. Matth. xvi. 18. pp. 162, 163. Londini, 1679.

[k] De fide est, dicere, hunc numero Papam, v. g. Gregorium XV. esse verum successorem Petri, et Christi Vicarium.

Probatur hæc assertio, primo, Quia fidei Catholicæ Articulus est, Ecclesiam esse unam Catholicam, visibilem: ergo ejusdem fidei articulus esse debet, caput esse unum, universale, et visi-

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Christianity is from God? That he succeeds him in the full right of that power which is given the Apostles? Certainly, wheresoever two or three are assembled in the name of Christ there is not the infallibility of the Church. Therefore it cannot be founded upon the promises made to all assemblies of Christians as Christians. It is very probable that the council of the Apostles at Jerusalem had a revelation upon 23
the place, signifying how they should order the matter in question, because there are many instances in the Scriptures of inspirations at the very assemblies of God's people, as I have shewed in the Right of the Church[1]. Therefore it is not evident that all councils may say the like. Therefore they cannot presume that the Holy Ghost will lead them into all truth, whatsoever they take a humour to determine, because it was promised that He should lead the Apostles into all truth concerning our common Christianity. But if the Church be the pillar and foundation that upholdeth the truth, then must that truth first be evidenced for truth, before the effect of the Church's office in upholding it, as pillars uphold a house, can appear. The exhortations of the Apostles—1 Thess. v. 12, 13, and Heb. xiii. 7, 17,—to yield obedience to the rulers of the Church, are certainly pertinent to this purpose; but it is as evident that this obedience is limitable by the grounds and substance of Christianity delivered afore, as it is evident that all power of the present Church presupposeth our common Christianity.

§ 16. As for the obedience required in the Old Testament to the governors of the synagogue and priests, confirmed by our Lord, Matt. xxiii. 2, I am very willing to grant the Church all power in decreeing for truth, that can appear to have belonged to the rulers of the synagogue, because I am

bile: at hoc non est nisi hic vel ille Pontifex: quandoquidem Pontifex, qui cogitatione ab hoc vel illo abjungitur, non extat in rerum natura, nec oculis cernitur, nec quicquam agit vel molitur in Ecclesia a Christo instituta. Ergo fide Catholica cogimur credere, hunc vel illum, qui Christianæ multitudine præficitur, verum et legitimum esse Pontificem. . . . . .

Qui Gregorium XV. cui Catholica paret Ecclesia, aut caput Ecclesiæ, aut verum Petri successorem, aut Christi Vicarium pernegaret, non in humanam, sed in fidem orthodoxam, et cui non potest subesse falsum, peccaret, et tanquam verus hæreticus flammis cremaretur, ergo ad fidem infusam divinitus pertinet, Gregorium XV. ab uno quoque Christiano verum legitimumque Christi Vicarium prædicari.—Longi a Coriolan. Summ. Concil. Prælud. X. assert. 2. pp. 119. 121. Antverp. 1623.

[1] Chap. iv. sects. 22, 23. See Review, chap. ii. sect. 10.

secure that those who could put malefactors to death, as they could, were not therefore able to tie men to believe that which they say to be true. But the great subtlety is the prophecy of Caiaphas[m], John xi. 49—52, who, because high-priest, could not but truly determine that our Lord must die lest the people should perish, even in resolving to crucify Him. Indeed, at the beginning, God was wont to conduct His people by oracles of Urim and Thummim in the high-priest's breastplate. And though this was ceased under the second temple, as we have reason to believe the Jews, yet was it no marvel that God should use the high-priest's tongue to declare that secret which himself understood not, being the person by whom He had used to direct His people in former ages. But he that from hence concludes the Church infallible, must first maintain that Caiaphas erred not in crucifying our Lord Christ.

Nor the consent of all Christians.

§ 17. Now if it be said that the consent of all Christians, though not as members of the Church—because as yet it appeareth not that the Church is a corporation and hath members—determines the sense of these Scriptures to signify infallibility, which they may, but do not necessarily, signify; let him consider the disputes that succeeded in the Church upon the decree of the great council at Nicæa, the breaches that have succeeded upon the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon, the division between the Greek and the Latin Church, between the reformation and the Church of Rome. For is it imaginable that all Christians holding as firmly as their Christianity that the act of the Pope and a council—that is, the greater part of the present Church—is to be believed as

[m] Ad id quoque quod deinceps sequitur, non est difficile respondere. Nam sacerdotum veterum acta quidem Christo adversa fuerunt, ut sententia hominum alioqui pessimorum non solum verissima, sed reipublicæ etiam utilissima fuit. Quin divinum oraculum fuisse Joannes evangelista testatur. Cum enim post longam variamque concilii deliberationem, Caiphas, qui ut summus pontifex concilio præsidebat, sententiam illam, cui omnes ferme consenserunt, dixisset, 'expedit nobis, ut unus moriatur homo pro populo, et non tota gens pereat:' mox evangelista subjecit 'hoc autem a semetipso non dixit, sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetavit.' Qua ex re fit, ut et nostrorum pontificum vita quidem et opera contraria forte sint Domino Jesu; sed eorum judicia, quæ videlicet, a summo Pontifice comprobata sint, et vera erunt, et Christianis utilia, ut quæ ad populi salutem sint divinitus instituta. Imo adeo a Spiritu Sancto erunt ob eam causam, quam ab evangelista didicimus, quia scilicet Ecclesiæ Christi Pontifices sunt. —Melchior. Cani, Loc. Theol. lib. v. cap. vi. fol. 177. Colon. 1585. Vide Stapleton. Controv. ii. lib. v. cap. x. pp. 172, 173. Paris. 1582.

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much as the Scriptures, not only the decree of Nicæa should be disputed again, but breaches should succeed rather than admit those decrees, retaining the common profession of Christianity? What disputes there have been betwixt the court of Rome and the Paris doctors, whether it be the act of the Pope or of a general council that obligeth the belief of the Church, is as notorious to the world as that they are not yet decided; and yet the whole question is disputed only concerning the Western Church; the East, which acknowledgeth not the Pope, appeareth not in the claim of this infallibility, were both East and West joined in one and the same council.

§ 18. Now among them that maintain the Pope, it is not agreed what acts of the Pope they must be that shall oblige the Church to believe, as it believes the Scriptures. For it is argued that Popes have decreed heresy, Liberius, Honorius, Vigilius[n], and perhaps others; and though I stand not to prove, I may presume that the contrary is not so evident as our common Christianity, or the Scriptures. And that some of them have held heresy seems granted without dispute[o]. Is it then as evident as our common Christianity what act of the Pope obliges us to believe? that he cannot decree that error to be held by others which it is granted himself holdeth? Besides, how many things are requisite to make a true Pope—whose power, unless it be conveyed by the free act of those 24 that are able to give it, the acts thereof will be void—which it does not appear that the present Pope is qualified with, as it appeareth that the Scriptures are true. And may not the same question be made of a general council, whether constituted according to right or not, whether proceeding without force and fraud or not? Is it as evident to all Christians as their Christianity or the Scriptures, that it is not?

§ 19. If it be said[p] that all Catholics agree that the Pope

[n] See Whitaker *de Romano Pontifice* Controv. iv. Qu. vi. cap. iii., where he insists on this point against the Cardinal Bellarmine.

[o] An Romanus Pontifex possit in hæresim incidere, etsi eam non doceat? Dico: Quamvis probabile sit Romanum Pontificem non posse in hæresim incidere, neque quo ad seipsum tantum, seu ut privata persona; tamen probabilius videtur, quod possit in personalem hæresim incidere, licet non possit eam docere.—Laurent. Branc. de Laurea, de Decretis Ecclesiæ, disp. viii. Art. v. § 1. p. 111. apud Rocabert. Bibl. Max. Pont., tom. xv. Rom. 1698.

[p] Ac ut a prima quæstione principium faciamus, hæretici hujus temporis nullum concilium esse volunt, quod errare non possit. . . . . .

with a general council, or a general council confirmed by the Pope, cannot err; first, what shall oblige them to agree? for, if they agree not, their infallibility is not evident to all Christians, nor if their agreement appear casual, can it be taken for a ground of faith that is indefeasible. Then—to set aside all the East, which, contesting the power of the Pope, cannot concur to this infallibility, about the councils of Constance and Basle—when the dispute between the Pope and council was at the hottest, there lived divers doctors of repute that have maintained this infallibility to be the gift and privilege not of the present, but of the Catholic Church; by name Ockam[q], Alliacensis[r], Panormitan[s], Antoninus[t], Cusanus[u],

Catholici vero omnes constanter docent, concilia generalia a Summo Pontifice confirmata, errare non posse, nec in fide explicanda, nec in tradendis morum præceptis toti Ecclesiæ communibus. De conciliis vero particularibus videtur esse aliqua dissensio inter Catholicos; cum enim istorum conciliorum firmitas tota fere pendeat ex firmitate Pontificis, ii qui dicunt Pontificem errare posse, consequenter dicere debent, etiam hujusmodi concilia errare posse.—Bellarm. de Concil. et Eccles., lib. ii. cap. ii. col. 53. Colon. Agrippin. 1619.

[q] Una est sola Ecclesia militans quæ contra fidem errare non potest, quia de sola universali Ecclesia militante invenitur in Scripturis authenticis, quod errare non potest, concilium autem generale licet sit pars Ecclesiæ militantis universalis, tamen non est Ecclesia universalis. Igitur temerarium est dicere, quod concilium generale contra fidem errare non potest.—Dialog., lib. v. i. partis, cap. xxv. apud Goldasti Monarch. R. I. Script., tom. ii. p. 494. Francf. 1614.

[r] Octava [distinctio] est, quod etiam concilium generale potest contra fidem errare, quia ipso sic errante, adhuc staret aliquos extra concilium non errare, et per consequens fidem Ecclesiæ non deficere.—Quæstio in Vesperiis, Tert. Artic. ad Calc. Quæst. in Sentent. fol. 281. et in Appen. ad Fascic. Rer. Expetend. ed. Brown. p. 523. Londini 1690.

[s] Puto tamen quod si Papa moveretur melioribus rationibus et authoritatibus quam concilium quod standum esset sententiæ suæ, nam et concilium potest errare sicut alias erravit super matrimonium contrahendum inter raptorem et raptam. . . . . Nam in concernentibus fidem etiam dictum unius privati esset præferendum dicto Papæ si ille moveretur melioribus rationibus novi et veteris Testamenti quam Papa. Nec obstat si dicatur quod concilium non potest errare quia Christus oravit pro Ecclesia sua ut non deficeret. . . . . Quia dico quod licet concilium generale repræsentet totam Ecclesiam universalem, tamen in veritate ibi non est vere universalis Ecclesia, sed repræsentative, quia universalis Ecclesia constituitur ex collectione omnium fidelium, unde omnes fideles orbis constituunt istam Ecclesiam universalem, cujus caput et sponsus est ipse Christus, Papa autem est vicarius Christi, et non vere caput Ecclesiæ, ut no. glos. in c. *Ne Romani*, de Elect. quæ notabiliter dicit quod mortuo papa Ecclesia non est sine capite, et ista est illa Ecclesia quæ errare non potest.—Nicol. de Tudeschis in Decrett. l. tit. de Electione cap. *Significasti*.

[t] Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus in Summa Summarum parte 3. Tit. 23. *de Conciliis generalibus* cap. ii. § 6. hæc omnia quæ a Panormitano dicta sunt de Papa conciliis et Ecclesia universali, amplectitur ejusque verba prout a me citata sunt fideliter in suum librum transcribit.—Baron. Apodixis Catholica, Tract. v. cap. xix. § 7. p. 220. Londini 1657.

[u] Ex quo duo nota, quod plenarium concilium est totius universæ Ecclesiæ, ita intelligitur ille vers. *Item*. Quum Petrus [2. q. 7. *Testes absque*] scilicet quod plenarium concilium vincit omnem auctoritatem. Similiter est notandum experimento rerum universale plenarium posse deficere. Quomodo etiam varia talia fuerunt concilia quæ judi-

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Clemangis[x], and Mirandula[y]: whose words you may see in Doctor Baron of Aberdeen's Apology for his Dispute *de Objecto Fidei*, Tract. v. cap. 19, 20[z].

§ 20. Further, I demand if there be in the Church a gift of infallibility independent upon the Scripture—that is, obliging to believe the decrees thereof, which our common Christianity evidenceth not—can it appear without the like reasons for which we believe the Scripture? Where is the evidence that God's Spirit inspires them with their decrees? Nay, when we see Popes and councils employ the same means to find the truth of things in question which other men do, would they have us believe that they shall not fail by God's providence when they use no means but that may fail, nor have themselves any reason in them to evidence that they do not fail? for if they had, they might make it appear.

[There is no determination of the Church on the subject.]

§ 21. But of all things the strangest is, that they should undertake to persuade the world this, when the Church itself never determined it. Of all things that ever the Church of any time took in hand to decree, it will never appear that

cando errarunt, apud Augustinum in Epistola ad Elusium et Glorium et ad cæteros de Donati parte missa et aliis locis invenitur.—Nicol. de Cusa, de Concord. Catholica, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 716. Basil. 1565.

[x] Licet autem Ecclesiæ militantis authoritas sit maxima, quæ fundata supra firmam petram convelli non potest, et adversus quam portæ inferi nunquam prævalere potuerunt, non illi tamen nos oportet—ut videtur—triumphantis Ecclesiæ titulos ascribere, ut infallibilis sit aut impeccabilis, quæ sæpe—ut nosti—et fallit et fallitur, non dico in his quæ fidei sunt cum Christus ad mortem properans: de illa ad Petrum dixerit: Petre rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua. Sed in aliis quæ vel facti sunt, vel morum vel judiciorum, in quibus propter circumstantiarum infinitam varietatem ac multitudinem, perdifficile est optimi medium semper attingere.—Nicol. de Clamengiis, disp. super Materia Concilii Generalis, p. 61. Lugdun. Batav. 1613.

[y] Illi enim Theologi et Juris interpretes, qui credunt aut Summum Pontificem per se, aut concilium, aut utrorumque conventus aberrare in promulgandis, quæ ad fidem spectant, sententiis non posse; nihilominus inficias non eunt, quin ante ipsum ferendæ sententiæ momentum, non solum in conversatione communi labi, uti Cephas etiam a Paulo reprehensus, non solum manifestis criminibus immergi, quorum multi Pontifices notati, sed etiam possunt a fide omnes deviare; quod de Sancta Catholica Ecclesia Christi sponsa nequaquam potest addubitari, de cujus privilegio, et quod in ea semper fides vigebit, supra diximus.—de Fide et ordine Credendi, Theorem. xiii. p. 197. Basil. 1601.—Mirandula is not cited by Baron; and Waldensis, whom he cites, Thorndike omits.

[z] Unde patet authores istos quorum testimonia in medium attuli, videlicet Gulielmum Ockam, Petrum ab Alliaco, Valdensem, Panormitanum, Antoninum Florentinum, Cardinalem Cusanum, et Nicolaum de Clemangiis, in quæstione hac de infallibilitate judicii Ecclesiastici ab aliis Ecclesiæ istius Theologis dissensisse.—Baron. Apodixis Catholica, tract. v. cap. xx. § 2. p. 223. Londini 1657.

ever it was decreed, that the decrees of the present Church are to be admitted for God's truth; and therefore there is not so much appearance of any opinion the Church of Rome has that it is true, as there is of human policy in breeding men up in such prejudicate conceits, which education makes them as zealous of as of their faith, though mere contradiction to the grounds of it; that being entangled in their own understandings to hold things so inconsistent, they may be the fitter instruments to entangle others, in that obedience to the Church which they hold necessary, though upon false reasons. For as Antony disputes in Tully *de Oratore*[a], that no man is so fit to induce others into passion as he that appears really possessed with the same, so is no man so fit to embroil the true reason and order of believing in another man's understanding, as he that is himself first confounded in it.

§ 22. There is indeed a plausible inconvenience alleged[b], if it be not admitted, to wit, that differences cannot be ended otherwise. But to object an inconvenience is not to answer an argument, say logicians; nor is it, say I, to demonstrate a truth. It is requisite the Church should be one—suppose we this for the present, for it is not proved as yet—but it is not therefore necessary that the unity thereof should depend upon the decision of all controversies that arise, what true, what false. It is a great deal easier to command men not to decide their own opinion than to believe their adversaries. For to decide is nothing else but to command all men to judge one part to be true, when it appeareth that a great part have already judged it to be false. But not to offend him

[a] Neque fieri potest, ut doleat is, qui audit, ut oderit, ut invideat, ut pertimescat aliquid, ut ad fletum, misericordiamque deducatur, nisi omnes ii motus, quos orator adhibere volet judici, in ipso oratore impressi esse, atque inusti videbuntur.—lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 194. ed. Pearce. Cantab. 1716.

[b] Necessarium in Ecclesia esse, adeoque etiam re ipsa extare communem quendam fidei magistrum et judicem controversiarum religionis qui cum auctoritate possit et Scripturas interpretari, adeoque credenda proponere, ut causas fidei, saltem graviores, quas nimirum decisas esse interest Ecclesiæ, dirimere, et partes contumaces ad parendum cogere: cum etiam in quavis politica Republica recte ordinata, opus sit publico magistratu, qui possit cum auctoritate leges proponere ac interpretari, et secundum leges jus dicere; neque; neque ullo modo sit credibile, communitatem Ecclesiasticam minus recte a Deo ordinatam ac dispositam esse, quam communitatem civilem, præsertim quando ipsa experientia constat, res fidei in Ecclesia non minus sæpe tum ob humani ingenii imbecilitatem, tum ob ipsarum rerum obscuritatem, dubias et controversas esse, quam res temporales in Republica. Ut ergo controversiæ hujusmodi legitime decidantur, opus est judice.—Tanner. Theol. Schol., Disp. *de Fide* Q. iii, Dub. i. § 2. col. 118. Ingolstad. 1626.

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that hath declared a contrary judgment, is a thing to be attained of him that cannot see reason to judge the same[c]. Charity may have place in all things in question among Christians, though faith be confined to the proper matter of it, though we cannot yet determine what that proper matter is, and upon what terms it standeth.

§ 23. It remains therefore that all presumption concerning the truth of the Church's decrees presupposeth the corporation of the Church and the foundation thereof, nor can any way be evidenced by supposing only the truth of the Scriptures, and the consent of Christians as Christians, which conveys the 25 evidence thereof unto us. So that the belief of the Scriptures, and of all things so clear in the Scriptures, that they are not questioned in the Church, depending upon the evidence of God's revelations to His messengers; but the belief of the Church's decrees, inasmuch as not evidenced by the Scriptures, upon the presumption of the right use of the power vested in them that decree, by the foundation of the Church—if that foundation may appear—they do not allow us the common reason of all men that require us to yield the same credit to both.

CHAPTER V.

ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION ARE NOT CLEAR IN THE SCRIPTURES TO ALL UNDERSTANDINGS. NOT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. NOT IN THE GOSPEL. NOT IN THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTLES. IT IS NECESSARY TO SALVATION TO BELIEVE MORE THAN THIS, THAT OUR LORD IS THE CHRIST. TIME CAUSETH OBSCURITY IN THE SCRIPTURES AS WELL AS IN OTHER RECORDS. THAT IS NO WHERE SAID IN THE SCRIPTURES THAT ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION ARE CLEAR IN THE SCRIPTURES. NEITHER IS THERE ANY CONSENT OF ALL CHRISTIANS TO EVIDENCE THE SAME.

All things necessary to salvation are not clear in the Scriptures to all understandings.

In the next place, to proceed by steps, I must negatively conclude on the other side, that all things necessary to the salvation of all, are not of themselves clear in the Scriptures to all understandings. Whereby I say not that all such things are not contained in the Scriptures, as if some thing necessary to the salvation of all were to be received by tradition alone:

[c] Reason to prove it. MSS.

nor that being in the Scriptures they are not clear and discernible to the understandings of those that are furnished with means requisite to discern the meaning of the Scriptures; but that which I stand upon is, that it is not nor ought to be a presumption[d] that this or that is not necessary to salvation, because it is not clear in the Scriptures: which if it were admitted, whosoever were able to make such an argument against any article of faith as all understandings interested in salvation could not dissolve—such as, it is plain, may be made against the truth of Christianity—should have gained this, that though it may be true, yet it cannot be an article of faith.

§ 2. To my purpose indeed, it were enough in this place to prove that this is not the first truth in Christianity, to wit, that all things necessary to salvation are clear by the Scriptures. For having obtained that there is no rule to conclude those doctrines which may be questioned not to be articles of faith, so that it cannot thereupon be disputed by degrees that they are not true, there would be nothing in my way to hinder the resolution of a positive rule, to distinguish between true and false, in all things concerning the Christian faith. Notwithstanding, because by that which already we have said, and that which appears to all men in the Scriptures, there is sufficient means to conclude so much as I have proposed, and that the proof of it will be an advantage to that which shall

[d] Decimo tertio atque postremo loco objicit Bellarminus, et in eo videtur sibi acutus esse, dum nos nostris quasi laqueis constringit. Nos dicimus nihil necessario credendum esse quod non in Scripturis habeatur. Ille hoc in nos retorquet, ut quærit ubi hoc scriptum sit? Respondeo; Primo, non dicimus, nullum esse Dei verbum non scriptum, sed fatemur Christum et Apostolos multa locutos esse, quæ non in Scripturis habentur. Nostræ vero sententia hæc est, non singula generum, sed tamen genera singulorum scripta esse, omnia scilicet capita doctrinæ. Quæcunque sine jactura fidei et salutis ignorari nequeunt ea dicimus plene ac cumulate in Scripturis inveniri atque explicari.—Whitaker. Disp. de Sacr. Script. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. ix. p. 379.

Secunda ratio adversarii est, quod Scriptura non habeat omnia necessaria, ut ante, inquit, probavimus; multa enim necessaria sunt, quæ non sunt in Scripturis. Respondeo, Et nos antea respondimus, quæ ille putat necessaria ea esse inutilia et ridicula, cujusmodi fuit remedium illud, quo fœminæ in Veteri Testamento a peccato originali purgatæ sunt, et alia ejus generis, de quibus prius diximus.—*Ib.*, cap. xvi. p. 407. Genev. 1610.

Again, after citing a passage from St. Cyprian, he proceeds thus: In his verbis duo animadvertenda sunt, primo, omnem Evangelicam et Apostolicam Traditionem esse quærendam in Evangeliis, Actis, aut Epistolis. Secundo, omnia illa quæ non possunt in his libris reperiri, rejicienda, et contemnenda esse.—And after a passage from St. Jerome, Manifestum ergo est, Hieronymum damnare omnia quæ non possunt apertis Scripturæ testimoniis probari.—*Ib.*, cap. xvii. p. 414.

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follow, I shall undertake it, supposing no more than I have said.

[Marinaro the Carmelite.]

§ 3. I do remember the argument made against tradition by Marinaro the Carmelite[e], at the council of Trent, which as it was thought so considerable there, that order was taken that he should appear no more in the council, so seemed to me, when I read it, not easy to answer. Now upon further consideration I make it my ground to prove the conclusion which I have advanced. He argued, that it was not possible to give a reason why God should provide that some of those truths which are necessary to salvation should be recorded in Scripture, others, equally obliging, not. For if you interpose the term "clearly," and argue that there is no reason why God should deliver some things clearly by writing, others not, the argument will be the same. To me it seems manifest that he who once holds that all things necessary to the salvation of all are clearly contained in the Scriptures—adding only "clearly" to his terms—to all understandings, ties himself—by giving the reason why they ought to be clear, because necessary—to maintain that all truths are delivered by Scripture, in the same degree of clearness to all understandings as they are in 26 degree of necessity to the salvation of all souls. For that every cause, every reason should infer the consequence, produce the effect, answerable in degree to that degree which the reason or cause is supposed to hold, is a thing that all reason enforces, every understanding justifies. But that all things are not clear by the Scriptures, in the same degree as they are necessary to salvation, is clear to all in point of fact: inasmuch as there are infinite truths, which Christians differ not about, in the Scriptures, because they think not their salvation concerned in the matter of them, those which are thought to concern it remaining in dispute, because not so clear. Neither is it for a Christian to prescribe a reason why

[e] Ma Fra. Antonio Marinaro Carmelitano era di parere, che si astenesse di parlare delle traditioni, e diceva, che in questa materia, per decisione del primo articolo, conveniva prima determinare, se la questione fosse *facti vel juris:* ciò é se la dottrina Christiana ha due parti, una che, per divina volontá fosse scritta, l'altra che per la stessa fosse prohibito scrivere, ma solo insegnare in voce; o vero se di tutto il corpo della dottrina, per accidente é avvenuto, che essendo stata tutta insegnata, qualche parte non sia stata posta in scritto.—Soave, Hist. del Conc. Trid. p. 147. Londr. 1619.

Thorndike repeats the Carmelite's argument in his book de Ratione finiendi Controversias, cap. vi. pp. 96, 97. Londini, 1670.

it ought to be otherwise, because that were to prescribe unto Almighty God a rule, not depending upon His will declared otherwise.

§ 4. This is the issue upon which I demonstrate my intent. Neither God's act in general of declaring His will in writing, nor His particular acts of declaring His will in such several matters as the several writings of the prophets and Apostles, which make the body of the Scriptures, contain, do any way import the declaring of an intent in God, thereby to manifest all things necessary to the salvation of all clearly to all understandings; therefore that any thing is necessary to salvation, is no presumption that it is clearly declared in Scripture to all understandings, inasmuch as it is manifest that no man can give law to God, what He ought to declare, but all men may presume that and that only to be declared which, by dealing with man under such or such a profession, He hath of His free goodness tied Himself to declare. For it being in the free choice of God whether to declare any will concerning man's salvation or none, and that choice being made, it remaining yet in His choice whether He would declare His will by writing or not—as it was in His power for so many years before Moses, to save men without Scripture—it cannot be said that either before declaring an intent to save men He was bound to declare all that was necessary unto it by writing, or by declaring it.

[The Scriptures are not clear to all understandings.]

§ 5. And this I hold enough to demonstrate to all understandings, that the declaring of an intent to deliver us by writing things concerning our salvation, imports not in God an intent to declare thereby all things necessary to the salvation of all, clearly to all understandings. Which will yet be clearer by proving the other part of my proposition, that by the intent of writing the several books whereof the Scripture consists, clearly declared, God hath not clearly declared the intent so often said. The proof of this by the particulars I hold the sufficientest satisfaction that can be rendered here, where the pretence is to proceed only upon that which all Christians receive. The particulars consist in the writings of the prophets, the sayings and doings of our Lord, recorded in the four Gospels, and the writings of the Apostles. For the Gospels pretending to contain the doings and sayings of our

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Lord, but to be written by His disciples, it follows by the nature of the business that they must contain some thing as from the person of the writer and of his sense, over and above what they pretend to record; which properly will belong to the writings of the Apostles, though contained in the Gospels; and thus far, to avoid cavil, I have thought fit here to distinguish.

Not in the Old Testament.

§ 6. Now that all matter of salvation is not clearly contained in the writings of the prophets—that is, in the Old Testament, written by Moses and his scholars the prophets—I prescribe upon that which all Christians suppose as the ground upon which Christianity is justified against Judaism, that the Old Testament delivereth but the figure and shadow of the New. For unless a man will have the figure and shadow to be all one with the body and substance, he must confess that the substance of Christianity, which is shadowed in the Old Testament, is not clearly declared by the same, unless he will have to be shadowed and unshadowed, that is, clear, to be all one. Let me demand, if Christianity be clearly declared by the law to be that profession which God would have all to be saved by, that should be saved, from the time of prescribing it, what need the miracles of our Lord and His Apostles, what need the resurrection, and so His sufferings, as to the account of evidencing the truth of His doctrine? For the law being once received upon necessary rea- 27
sons, it is impossible to say why any new reasons should be requisite to enforce the truth or the obligation of the Gospel, if it were clearly declared by it?

Not in the Gospel.

§ 7. Again, it is manifest that our Lord being risen again, and giving the Holy Ghost unto His disciples by breathing on them, John xx. 22, gave them also a spiritual grace of understanding the Scriptures, as you find Luke xxiv. 32, 45; where first the disciples that went to Emmaus confess with admiration, "Did not our hearts burn within us when He talked with us on the way, and opened to us the Scriptures?" declaring unto them how He was foretold in the Old Testament as you have it afore. Then having persuaded them all that it was even He that was risen again, it follows; "Then opened He their minds to understand the Scriptures;" which were only then those of the Old Testament. Surely Justin

the martyr[f], in many places of his dispute with Trypho the Jew, as truly as manifestly professes that the understanding of Christianity in the Old Testament was a grace given to the disciples of Christ, among the rest of [the] distributions of His Spirit—upon His ascension in heaven—shed forth upon the Church, Eph. iv. 8—which being shewed the Jews, their eyes were darkened, as their hearts hardened, that they could not understand the truth in them.

§ 8. Now it is not my purpose to say that thereby he challenges to himself the same miraculous grace of the Spirit, and that the prophecies that concern Christ are by that grace interpreted by him in his writings, and therefore as truly as those in the writings of the Apostles. It is enough that the true meaning of the Scriptures in that behalf was first revealed to the disciples of Christ by the immediate and extraordinary operation of God's Spirit; though Christians, building on that which they received from persons so inspired, may have added many things inconsequent to those principles. Now I suppose it is manifest to all men's reason, that those things are not clear in the Scriptures to all understandings that could not be discerned in them without a miraculous operation of God's Spirit.

[The types of the Old Testament]

§ 9. But nothing can be more manifest than those particulars of the law, which our Lord and His Apostles in the New Testament have, by way of allegory, expounded to be meant of His person, and Gospel, and kingdom. That the first Adam was to be the figure of the second, though to a contrary effect of life by Christ, instead of death by Adam, and that He took our flesh to be the Lord of all things in it —as to the effect of the Gospel—which the first Adam was made as to the dominion of the creature, is clearly declared by the Apostle, Rom. v. 12—14; 1 Cor. xv. 45—49; Heb. ii. 6—15. That Noah, and what befel the world by the deluge under him, was the figure of what befalls the Church under Christ by baptism, is no less manifestly the doctrine of the Apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 20—22. And not only this particular, but

[f] Παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικὰ χαρίσματά ἐστιν. ἐξ οὗ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιέναι ὀφείλετε, ὅτι τὰ παλαὶ ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν ὄντα εἰς ἡμᾶς μετετέθη. ὅνπερ δὲ τρόπον καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν γενομένων ἁγίων προφητῶν ἦσαν, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νῦν πολλοί εἰσι καὶ ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι . . . . . Dial. cum Tryph. cap. lxxxii. p. 179. ed. Ben. See also cap. xxxi. p. 136.

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all the rest that befel the fathers, and prophets, and martyrs, under the Old Testament, is evidently made a figure of what befalls the disciples of Christ under the Gospel, Heb. xi. As it is also evident that the pilgrimages of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their posterity the Israelites, from Egypt through the wilderness into the land of promise, is there declared, and of all Christians received, for the figure of that journey which all profess to travel, from sin wherein it findeth them, to the kingdom of heaven and happiness.

[not clear to all understandings.]

§ 10. How else should the argument hold which the Apostle draws from that which befel the children of Israel travelling through the wilderness to the land of Canaan, to the duty of Christians in their journey toward everlasting happiness? 1 Cor. x. 1—11; Heb. iii. 7; iv. 11. But after their coming into the land of promise, as the persecutions which the prophets endured, Heb. xi. 36—38, Matt. xxiii. 34, evidence them to be the figures of Christ's cross, as the expiation made by all high-priests is evidently expounded by the Apostle to the Hebrews, to shadow the taking away of sin by Christ; so it is no less evident that all the judges, and kings, and high-priests, and prophets of God's people, anointed by God, were figures of our Lord, both in regard of His Church and the enemies of it, than it is evident that our Lord Jesus is the Christ foretold by the prophets. Which things, unless we say—as no man in his right senses will say—that they are manifest to all that read the Old Testament, though they never 28 heard of Christianity, or the New, we cannot imagine that the substance of Christianity, necessary to the salvation of all Christians, is clear to all understandings in the Old Testament.

§ 11. No less clear is it, by the sayings and doings of our Lord recorded in the Gospels, that it was not His intent freely and openly, at least always and every where, to declare the truth and substance of it by the said sayings and doings. Manifest indeed it is, that He did publicly and freely declare Himself to be that Christ whom the prophets had foretold, and the nation expected, and of this no doubt can be made by any man that with common reason examines all that is written in the Gospels, though not [at] all times so free in declaring n this truth; as it is evident by the words of the Jews to

Him, John x. 24, "How long holdest Thou our minds in suspense? If Thou be the Christ, freely tell us it." And we see, Matt. xvi. 14, 20, what difference of opinions there was about it in His life-time, forbidding His disciples to declare it till His death. But granting this to be manifest by the Gospels, neither is it manifest by them that nothing else is requisite to salvation to be believed concerning His person and kingdom, nor, that thereby He intended to make manifest what He knew requisite to be believed, of them that should embrace it, when it was become requisite?

It is necessary to salvation to believe more than this, that our Lord is the Christ.

§ 12. This is enough to answer the Leviathan with, pretending[g] that it is not necessary to the salvation of a Christian to believe any more than this, that our Lord Jesus is the Christ. Which if it could appear by the Gospels alone, then would I not dispute any further, that all the truth that is necessary to salvation is clearly delivered by the Gospels. I do for my part believe that the substance of Christianity necessary to salvation is contained in the badge and cognizance which our Lord hath marked it with, by His commission to His Apostles, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20: "Go make all nations disciples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you." But shall I say it is clearly contained in these words, about the intent and effect whereof there hath been, and is, so much dispute? The Church, it is well enough known, hath always rejected those that acknowledge not the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, subsisting in one and the same Godhead.

§ 13. At this day Socinus and his followers[h] will have us

[g] See chap. ii. sect. 10. note l.

[h] Unde perspicitur, si modo in aquæ baptismo aliquod symbolum Christianismi est, id non ipsam tinctionem sive immersionem esse, sed nominis Jesu Christi apertam et publicam professionem, quæ Christianorum certissima atque evidentissima simul ac perpetua nota est, quæ cum, ut ante non semel dictum fuit, ritui illi aqua tingendi alligata non sit, sed alio et alio modo, eoque multo etiam excellentiore in homine imprimi possit, eaque non semel tantum impressa sufficiat, utpote quæ nisi subinde renovetur, et quodammodo continuetur, prorsus deleatur, ineptum sane est eam a ritu illo externo petere, qui semel duntaxat obitur, et nullum sui ipsius post se vestigium relinquit.—Fausti Socini, de Baptismo disp. cap. xiii. p. 731. Irenop. 1656.

Absurdam quoque sententiam istam esse inde perspicitur, quod homini alioqui firmissima fide Christum complectenti, ipsiusque verbo audientissimo, sempiternam salutem eam tantum ob causam denegat, quod aqua baptisatus non sit, idque vel quia ejus rei copiam potestatemque nullam habuerit, vel quia sese cæremonia ista obligatum esse minime putet. . . . . Cum porro Christus hoc in loco [S. Marc. xvi. 16.]

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believe only that we are to profess—whether we be baptized or not—that our Lord Jesus is a man that was born of a Virgin by the power of God which is the Holy Ghost; and for undertaking, or for doing, God's message, tendering reconcilement with God to mankind, hath by God's gift the same power with God to govern His kingdom, and is to be honoured as God for it. Whether or no they would have us to believe this sense of theirs positively, or would not be tied to believe positively the sense of the Church, in time perhaps they may declare, I have not hitherto understood. Shall I say there is not sufficient argument for the sense of the Church in the Gospels? It is no part of my meaning. Shall I therefore say it is clear of itself in the Gospels, that is to say, by the sayings and doings of our Lord recorded in the Gospels? Doth not our Lord plainly make Himself equal to the Father, John vi. 17—23? Doth He not answer again, being questioned for this, John x. 33—35, by the words of David spoken of mere men, Psalm lxxxii. 6, "I have said ye are Gods?" Doth He not say plainly again, "My Father is greater than I?" John xiv. 28. Which things, as it is plain by argument, that they may stand with the sense of the Church, so that those arguments are plain of themselves to all understandings, is as much as to say that a seeming contradiction argues an intent in our Lord, that all men should see the resolution of it.

§ 14. Again, that all that will be saved by our Lord Christ must take up His cross and profess Him to the death, is plain

hoc in loco sine dubio de iis rebus sermonem instituerit, quæ ad sempiternæ felicitatis adeptionem necessariæ sunt, easque ut ipsa verborum complexio convincit, ex Evangelii disciplina hauriendas esse doceat, consequens est, fidei eam rem hic adjunctam esse, inquam baptismi appellatio optime conveniat, quæque fidem ut salutifera sit, perpetuo comitari debeat. Hæc autem est vel aperta nominis Domini Jesu Christi, fideique professio, cujus symbolum fuit baptismus aquæ, olim in Christi Ecclesia usurpatus, ut ita signum pro re signata ponatur; vel vera pœnitentia, qua mentes nostræ a peccatorum sordibus eluuntur: quam ob causam paulo ante eam a Petro baptismi nomine appellari vidimus.—Volkel. de vera Religione, lib. vi. cap. xvi. col. 669.

Novit Deus imbecillitatem nostram: et amplissimis promissis eam fulcire voluit, quibus nisi fidem habeamus, nunquam ipsi Deo, et si maxime deberemus, ex animo obediemus, nunquam vere confidemus. Qui autem illis fidem habet, quia, ut diximus, eorum ingenti desiderio omnes tenemur, ut obediat atque confidat, necesse est. Et propterea, qui Christo sive ejus verbis credit, justificatus esse dicitur. In quo vestri homines reprehendendi sunt, qui dicunt satis non esse, si quis ea omnia vera esse credat, quæ Christus dixit, et pollicitus est; nisi etiam ad seipsum ea pertinere sibi persuadeat. Quasi Christi verba ad omnes æque non pertineant.—Fausti Socini, de Christo Servatore, par. iv. cap. xi. p. 238. Irenopol. 1656.

by the Gospels: but so long as the disciples might, and did, believe that they should reign with our Lord in His kingdom over that people which should destroy their enemies, was the intent of suffering death for Christ to reign with Him in heaven plain by the Gospels? That the law should stand for ever, is it not plainly delivered by our Lord in the Gospel,
29 and is it not as plainly of the necessity of salvation to believe that we are saved by the Gospel and not by the law? I appeal to St. Paul's Epistles; though I dispute not whether this be abrogating the law, as divines commonly speak, or derogating from it. Certainly, though I know not whether the Socinians would be content, with the Leviathan, that nothing be thought necessary to salvation to be believed, but that our Lord is the Christ; yet I know they would be astonished to hear[i] that he who believes that, and lives according to the laws of his sovereign, hath done the duty of a Christian, and may challenge his share in the kingdom of heaven for it. But this I must not dispute further in this place, only here I must answer his reasons out of the Scripture, and shew you upon what a weak pin he hath hung all this weight.

§ 15. Christ is the foundation[j], 1 Cor. iii. 11, Matt. xvi. 18, which all the Gospels pretend to induce us to believe, John xx. 31, as also the exhortations of the Apostles, Acts xvii. 2, 3, 6: by this the good thief was saved, believing only our Lord anointed by God to His kingdom, Luke xxiii. 42. Everlasting life is to be had by believing this and the Scripture, because it witnesseth this, John v. 39; and xvii. 3; xi. 26, 27. Which is all blown away with this breath, that he that admits our Lord to be the Christ, cannot refuse any part of His doctrine; and therefore salvation is justly imputed to that, which whoso receiveth shall be bound to admit and undergo whatsoever his salvation requireth. "This is eternal life, to know Thee the only God, and whom Thou hast sent, Jesus Christ," John xvii. 3. "These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, and that believing ye may have life," John xx. 31. How, have life believing? Because he that believes will be baptized, and he that is baptized must undertake to live as Christ teacheth, professing to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which, be-

[The passages of Scripture, on which Hobbes rests his theory, examined.]

[i] See chap. ii. sect. 10. note l.

[j] Hobbes, part iii. chap. 43.

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lieving in Christ, coming from the Father to send the Holy Ghost, implieth; and therefore the eunuch, Acts viii. 36, 37, is baptized upon this faith, as others into it, Acts ii. 38; viii. 16; xix. 5.

§ 16. The belief of the creation of the world, of Providence, the resurrection and judgment to come, not being introduced by Christianity, but found in force among the Jews when our Lord came; so that limitation by which the Leviathan enlargeth[k] his sense of that, which the believing of our Lord to be the Christ implieth, is not worth a straw. It is not only necessary to salvation to believe all that the Messiah was to be or to do, to be verified, and to have been done by our Lord Jesus; unless we believe that we are to believe and to do whatsoever He taught us to believe and to do. And that, as I have shewed[l], is not determinable by any means but that which Christ, by Himself or by His Apostles, hath provided us, neither whether so or not, and much less whether necessary to salvation or not.

Not in the writings of the Apostles.

§ 17. That which hath been alleged to shew that the substance of Christianity necessary to the salvation of all under the Gospel is not clearly contained in the Old Testament, nor in the sayings and doings of our Lord related by the Evangelists, holds not in the writings of the Apostles. For being directed to Christians already reduced into Churches, constituted upon supposition of the knowledge and profession of Christianity, there is no reason why they should be sparing in declaring the truth of it to those to whom they write.

[k] "But a man may here ask whether it be not as necessary to salvation to believe that God is omnipotent, Creator of the world, that Jesus Christ is risen, and that all men else shall rise again from the dead at the last day, as to believe that Jesus is the Christ. To which I answer they are; and so are many more articles, but they are such as are contained in this one, and may be deduced from it with more or less difficulty. For who is there that does not see that they who believe Jesus to be the Son of the God of Israel, and that the Israelites had for God the Omnipotent Creator of all things, do therein also believe that God is the Omnipotent Creator of all things? Or how can a man believe that Jesus is the king that shall reign eternally, unless he believe Him also risen again from the dead? For a dead man cannot exercise the office of a king. In sum, he that holdeth this foundation, Jesus is the Christ, holdeth expressly all that he seeth rightly deduced from it, and implicitly all that is consequent thereunto, though he have not skill enough to discern the consequence. And therefore it holdeth still good that the belief of this one article is sufficient faith to obtain remission of sins to the penitent, and consequently to bring them into the kingdom of heaven." Hobbes, part iii. chap. 43. pp. 328, 329. London, 1651.

[l] Chap. ii. sect. 6. See also chap. iv. sects. 6, 7.

True it is, and evident by their writings, that they used great reservation in declaring to those that were of Jews become Christians the discharge of their obligation to Moses's law. But whatsoever their proceeding was in that case, not only the reason of the truth, but also the reason of that proceeding, is clearly declared by their writings.

§ 18. But if all their writings suppose, in them to whom they write, knowledge sufficient for the salvation of all Christians, and none of them pretend to lay down the sum and substance of that whereof the salvation of all Christians requireth the knowledge, evident it is that the perfection of none of them —nor the whole Scriptures, consisting of them and those which we have spoken of hitherto—requireth that they clearly contain all that is necessary to the salvation of all Christians. For the perfection of every writing consisteth in the sufficiency of it for the purpose for which it is intended: if therefore the occasions of the Apostles' writings, and so the purpose of them, evidently express not an intent to lay down clearly to all understandings, the whole substance of that which is sufficient to render all Christians capable of salvation—as evidently neither any nor all of them do—then neither doth the perfection, nor sufficiency, nor clearness of the Apostles' writings require that all things, necessary to the salvation of all, be clear in them to all understandings. For let no man object that they were all of them necessary to the salvation of all, or most of them to whom they were sent, unless it could be said that whatsoever was necessary to the salvation of those to whom the Apostles wrote, is necessary to the salvation of all Christians: which so long as there is a difference between necessity of means and necessity of precept[m]—that is, between that which is necessary to the common salvation of all, and that which becomes necessary to the salvation of some, by reason of their particular states and conditions—cannot be said.

§ 19. The writings of the Apostles are their Epistles, with their Acts, and St. John's Revelations, if these may not be referred to the rank of their Epistles. The chief of their Epistles, that to the Romans, that to the Galatians, that to the Hebrews, with the greatest part of the rest, are either

[m] See Rel. Assembl., chap. vi. sect. 12.

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occasioned by the reservation which they used in declaring, to those that were become Christians of Jews, their discharge from the law as justified by Christ, or by the secret endeavours of heretics, pretending commission from the Apostles on one side, on the other, practising compliance with the Jews to seduce those that inclined to the law, to the damnable inventions of Simon Magus and his successors. But none of them pretendeth more than preventing, or avoiding those particular disorders which appeared in the respective Churches; for what the Apostles did in settling Christianity at Jerusalem, or propagating it by St. Paul, especially so far as the book of the Acts relates; what St. John saw touching the state of Christianity to come, I suppose is something else than the sum of all that is necessary to the salvation of all Christians.

§ 20. And though, in discretion, every man may presume that upon occasion of the express purposes of these writings, there is nothing necessary to the salvation of all that is not touched in some place of them, yet it is one thing to be touched upon the by, another thing to be delivered upon express purpose. For those things that are but touched upon occasion, referring to the knowledge which they presuppose, cannot, must not, contain the clear understanding of those things which they only touch, unless we will have the writer so impertinent, as upon every occasion to turn aside and instruct him that he writes to, in such things as he supposes him to know afore. So the reason why the sum or substance of Christianity is not clear in the Old Testament and Gospels is, because it was not then clearly preached; why not in the writings of the Apostles is, because it was clearly delivered afore, the clear delivering of it being seen in the catechizing of them that came to the profession of the Gospel and the communion of the Church.

Time causeth obscurity in the Scriptures as well as in other records.

§ 21. Beside this reason, peculiar to the Apostles' writings, there is another that is seen, not only in the law and prophets as well as in them, but in all ancient records of learning, arising from the distance of time between us and the writing of them, and the change which such a succession produceth in the state of things, necessarily inferring obscurity, answerable to that difference, in the condition of those things which they express. There is no record of learning so slight that

any man who knows what belongs to learning can presume of a clear understanding of it, till, by comparing it with other writings, nearest to it in nature and time, he get satisfaction in it; for such a change of language follows the changes that come to pass in times and places, and laws and fashions, and the condition of persons consequent to the same, that till they be understood by reading—seeing and hearing not being available in languages out of use—the meaning of writers is not to be had from their words.

§ 22. How much more in writings of such consideration as the Scriptures are to the Church, of such antiquity as the law and prophets, and the primitive Church of the Apostles of such difference from the present state of things as between the law, either flourishing under the princes of God's people,
31 or tolerated by their sovereigns: between the Gospel springing up in the midst of the empire professing heathenism, but protecting Judaism, and the Gospel professed and protected by Christian powers and people; so little record remaining otherwise either of things done under the law, or under the Apostles—so far from priding themselves in writing books—how much more, I say, must we be in the dark for the clear meaning of that whereof every tittle is considerable? That the Apostles' writings were no way obscure to those they were directed to, is to me unquestionable. For though it is reasonable that they should, as we see they do in some passages, rise above the pitch of the common capacity, even of them they were written to, lest they should become subject to neglect; so that for the most part they should not be understood of the most part, would be a manifest inconvenience.

§ 23. But it is no inconvenience, that by distance of time, they should become liable to the same difficulty of being understood, which all other ancient writings necessarily become subject to. And that reason appeareth no less, in those things which concern the necessary salvation of all, than in matters of less consequence. It will therefore be hard to reconcile to any capacity of reason, that which is advanced for the first truth, towards the deciding of all controversies of faith, that all things necessary to salvation are clear in the Scriptures, to all understandings[n]; those Scriptures, which

[n] See chap. ii. sect. 5. note g.

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only can be pretended to deliver the truth of Christianity clearly, neither professing to deliver the whole sum and substance of it, and being directed to those, who are supposed already instructed in all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians. Therefore this unreasonable presumption is not to create any difficulty, to that reason of deciding controversies of faith, which we proceed to settle upon the premises.

§ 24. I cannot tell whether or no it was requisite to say so much against a presumption merely voluntary, and which common experience contradicts. For if, all agreeing in the truth of Christianity and the Scriptures, there remain disputes about things which some count necessary to salvation, others not, it is enough that the truth of Christianity inferreth means sufficient to clear the truth of what remains in dispute. But first it is manifest, that what remains in dispute, is not of itself manifest to all that acknowledge the Scriptures, but may become manifest to them that use such means as the truth of Christianity enforceth. Nevertheless, since they that are in love with their own presumptions, though never so dangerous to the Supreme Majesty, take whatsoever crosses them for a derogation to the Scriptures, let thus much be said, to shew, that by giving the Scriptures, no man may presume[o] that God intended to declare in them whatsoever is necessary to the salvation of all, clearly to all understandings.

§ 25. But if this must have been supposed, as a principle or ground whereupon we are to resolve all controversies of faith, it would have been requisite to have shewed us, that this truth is, of all other, so much more clearly laid down in the Scriptures, as that which concurs to the clearing of all, ought of itself to be the most clear. Now if we consider, that this privilege of containing all that is necessary to the salva-

[o] "Although some difficulties occur in them, yet are the holy Scriptures, especially that of the New Testament, easy and clear, in those things that are necessary to salvation.

"*Q.* How will you demonstrate that?

"*A.* First, inasmuch as God would have the holy Scriptures to that end and purpose delivered to men, that they might thereby come to the knowledge of His will, it is altogether incredible that He would have such writings delivered, from whence His will could not be perceived and known by all.

"Next, because in the very beginning of the Christian religion, the Apostles directed their Epistles, wherein the chief mysteries of the Christian religion are contained, to plain and simple men."—The Racovian Catechism, pp. 9, 10. Amsterdam, 1652.

tion of all, belongs not to any part, but to the whole body of the Scriptures, it would first have been said, what Scripture, speaking of the whole body of the Scripture, hath established this property or privilege of it. For my part, upon the best consideration that I can take, I am at a stand to find any text of Scripture, any letter or syllable of the whole Bible, that says any thing at all, good or bad, of the whole Bible. So far is it from delivering this property or privilege of it. So far further from delivering it as the first truth, in terms so clear and unquestionable, as to make it a presumption, to the deciding of all that is or may become questionable concerning the Scripture.

§ 26. The words of St. Paul[p] 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17,—"All Scripture, inspired by God, is also profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect; being fitted for every good work"—cannot be said of the whole body of canonical Scripture, being written before it was: that is, when evidently many parts of the New Testament were not written, probably
32 all, and evidently concerns every part of God's Word, not the whole body of the Scriptures. Therefore with Origen[q] I conceive, they are meant of the Scriptures of the Old Testament; to this effect, that that instruction which is necessary to salvation being had by the Gospel, which the Church teacheth those whom it maketh Christians, the right understanding of the Old Testament, according to the mystery of

[p] Venio nunc ad celebrem illum Apostoli locum, qui habetur 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. . . . . Nolo hic disputare, utrum de Veteris duntaxat, an de utriusque Testamenti libris hoc loco Apostolus loquatur. Et ad novum etiam Testamentum ista pertinere arbitror. Etsi enim puero Timotheo nondum editi sunt Novi Testamenti libri, tamen nonnulli ex iis jam in lucem prodierant, quando hæc scripsit Apostolus. Si vero tantum de Veteris Testamenti libris loquatur, tum argumentum nostrum potest fortius constringi. Nam si libri Veteris Testamenti per se sufficiunt ad hæc omnia, quæ hic commemorantur, tum multo magis Scripturæ veteris simul et Novi Testamenti plenam doctrinam continent. Sed nolo de hac re contendere. Existimo tamen, hanc esse generalem de tota Scriptura sententiam. Ex hoc loco sic concludimus: Tota Scriptura utilis est ad hoc, ut homo Dei sit perfectus ad omne opus bonum, Ergo ad omnia, quæ nobis necessaria sunt, Scripturæ sufficiunt.—Whitaker. de Sacr. Script. Controv. 1. Quæst. vi. cap. xiv. p. 400. Genev. 1610.

[q] Verbi causa, est carmen quod præcantatur, et canitur a sapiente Mose, et quod præcantatur, et canitur a sapiente Jesu Nave, et quod præcantatur, et canitur a sapientibus omnibus prophetis. Hæc autem ideirco diximus, ne fastidium capiamus audientes Scripturas, etiam si non intelligimus, sed fiat nobis secundum fidem nostram, credentibus quia *omnis Scriptura* &c. Si ergo divinitus inspirata est et utilis, etiamsi non sentiamus utilitatem, credere tamen debemus quia utilis est.—In Libr. Jesu Nave. Hom. xx. § 2. t. ii. p. 444. ed. Ben.

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§ 27. The fashion is, to allege[r] Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32: "You shall add nothing to the word that I command you, nor take any thing from it. That you may keep the commandment of the Lord your God which I command you." And, "Ye shall take heed to do all the word that I command you. Ye shall add nothing to it, nor take any thing from it." And that it is threatened[s] for a conclusion to the whole Scripture, Apoc. xxi. 18, 19: "If any man add to or take from the words of the prophecy contained in this book, God shall lay upon him the plagues written in this book, God shall take away his share out of the book of life and the holy city, and the things that are written in this book." For is not all that is requisite sufficiently clear, if nothing may be added or taken from the Scriptures? Therefore is St. Paul also alleged pronouncing anathema, if himself, or an Angel from heaven, or any man should take upon him to preach any other Gospel than that which they had already received, Gal. i. 8, 9. And therefore are the Beræans commended, Acts xvii. 11, that they did not admit even those things which St. Paul, so great an Apostle, preached to them, without examining them by the Scriptures, whether [they were] so as he said or not.

§ 28. To the same purpose John xx. 30, 31: "Many other miracles did Jesus, which are not written in this book. But, these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, and that, believing, ye may have life through His Name." Add hereunto the Psalmist's commendations of the

[r] See Whitaker, de Sacr. Script. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xiv. p. 396. Genevæ. 1610.

[s] See below, sect. 31. note y.

law, xix. 7—13, as giving wisdom to the simple, as enlightening the eyes, and instructing the servants of God; which how should it do, if it be not first to be understood? "For the precept is a candle, and the law light," saith Solomon, Prov. vi. 23. And Psalm cxix. 105: "Thy word is a candle to my feet, and a light to my paths." Further, the Scriptures tell us how they come to be obscure, and what makes them clear. "They shall be all taught by God," saith the prophet, Is. liv. 13, speaking of the times of the Gospel, and the children of the Church. And Jeremy, xxxi. 33, 34, promiseth that God will put His new covenant in the hearts of His children, and write it in their entrails, so that they shall have no need to teach one another the knowledge of God, because they should be all taught by God to know God. And is not this that for which our Lord gives thanks to the Father, Matt. xi. 25, because having concealed the mystery of the Gospel from the wise and understanding, He had revealed it to babes and sucklings? Which the Apostle expoundeth 1 John ii. 20, 21, 27: "You have an unction from God, and know all things. I have not written to you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth." And, "But as for you, the unction which ye have received of Him remaineth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you. But, as that unction teacheth you of all things, and is true and not false, and as it hath taught you, so shall you abide in it." Whereupon afterwards, iv. 1: "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether of God or not;" to wit, as those who were possessed of that by which they were to be tried. Therefore St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 21: "Try all things; hold that which is good:" to wit, by that means which he intimateth 1 Cor. ii. 15; "The spiritual man is judged by none, but himself judgeth all things."

§ 29. In fine, I must not forget Cartwright's argument[t] [Cartwright's negative argument.]

[t] "But for so much as the Lord God, determining to set before our eyes a perfect form of His Church, is both able to do it, and hath done it, a man may reason both ways necessarily. The Lord hath commanded it should be in His Church, therefore it must. And of the other side, He hath not commanded, therefore it must not be. And it is not hard to shew that the prophets have so reasoned negatively. As when in the person of the Lord the prophet saith 'Whereof I have not spoken,' Jerem. xix. 5. 'And which never entered into My heart,' Jerem. vii. 31. And, as where He condemneth them because they have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord. Is. xxx. 2."—Reply to an Answer of Dr. Whitgift, p. 26.—See Hooker, bk. ii. chap. vi. § 1. vol. i. p. 390. ed. Keble. Oxford, 1836.

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from the words of the prophet Jeremy vii. 31, xix. 5, where he reproveth the Jews' idolatries by this argument, that it never came into God's mind to command them any such thing. For if the grievousness even of their idolatries consist 33
in this, that they were done without warrant of God's Word, how can it be questionable that He hath provided us instruction sufficient to clear us in all that we are to do, by the Scriptures?

That it is no where said in the Scriptures that all things necessary to salvation are clear in the Scriptures.

§ 30. But these Scriptures are as easily wiped away as they are alleged, if we go no further than to shew that they inforce no such principle as is pretended[u] for the ending of all controversies, that all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians are clear to all Christians in the Scriptures. For what a pitiful inconsequence is it to argue that all things necessary to salvation are clear in the Scriptures, because Moses forbiddeth to add to or take from his law[x]? For if the Gospel be not clearly contained in the Old Testament containing the law and the prophets, and therefore much less in the law alone, then is it not lawful to add to or take from that Scripture in which all things necessary to salvation are not clear. And surely when they are commanded to stand to the determinations of their judges in things questionable concerning the law, Deut. xvii. 8—12, that which was questionable was not clear to all concerned in the law, and the determining of it was neither adding to nor taking from the law.

§ 31. In like manner he that should add to or take from the book of St. John's Revelations—take it if you please for the complement of the whole Bible[y], and say as much either of

[u] Hoc ipsum est quod asserimus, omnia dogmata, quæ ad salutem scitu, creditu atque observatu sunt necessaria, suis locis in Sacra Scriptura ita clare et perspicue proponi atque explicari, ut a quolibet homine etiam plebeio, Spiritum Christi et unctionem a Sancto illo habente atque officium suum adhibitis precibus et reliquis ad erudiendum S. Scripturæ sensum ordinariis mediis diligenter faciente, facile et sufficienter ad salutem intelligi possint.—Hommii Disp. Theol., Disp. iv. § 6. p. 15. Lugd. Bat. 1614.

[x] Si non licuit Judæis aliquid addere ad libros Mosis, tum multo minus licet nobis aliquid addere ad canonem Scripturæ jam auctum tot libris a tempore Mosis. At illud non licuit: Ergo multo minus hoc jam licet. Propositio consecutionem necessariam habet. Nam si quinque libri Mosis continent plenam ac perfectam doctrinam, quod certe faciunt, ideoque vetat Moses his aliquid addere: tum sane doctrinam longe perfectissimam in universis libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti inveniri necesse est. Assumtio nititur disertis divinæ Scripturæ verbis, 'non addetis ad verbum hoc, nec auferetis ex eo.'—Whitaker. de Sacr. Script. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xiv. p. 396. Genev. 1610.

[y] Superest alius locus ex vigesimo secundo capite Apocalypsis..... Respondent Sonnius et Bellarminus loqui

the whole or of any part of it—deserves the plagues written there to be added to him, and his part taken away out of the book of life; for who doubteth that falsifying the Scriptures is a crime of a very high nature? but so it will be, whether all things necessary to salvation be clear in the Scriptures or not. Nay, falsifying the sense of the Scriptures, not altering the words, may deserve the very same, because the true sense might and ought to have been cleared in the Scriptures, as not clear to all that are concerned in it. And may not St. Paul bid anathema to whosoever shall preach another Gospel than that which he had preached to the Galatians, unless all things necessary to salvation be clear in the Scriptures? First let it appear—which cannot appear, because it is not true—that the Scriptures of the New Testament were written when he preached it: or if not, that whatsoever is clear in the Scriptures which we have, is clear in the Scriptures which they had when St. Paul preached.

[The case of the Beræans.]

§ 32. The Beræans had reason to examine St. Paul's preaching by the Scriptures, who alleged the Old Testament for it, and demanded to be acknowledged an Apostle of Christ according as his preaching agreed therewith. But what needed his preaching if the means of salvation which he preached were clearly contained in the old Scriptures? the miracles related by St. John's Gospel are written, that believing we may have life. Why? because there is nothing else requisite to salvation to be believed? or, as I said to the Leviathan[z], because he that comes to believe shall be instructed in all things necessary to his salvation, whether by the miracles there related or otherwise? And cannot the

Joannem duntaxat de Apocalypsi, cui nihil velit addi quasi tunc revelatum Joanni, aut in illo libro descriptum ab eodem.

At nos regerimus: primum ex hoc saltem loco intelligi illud addere et detrahere, non tantum prohibere contraria, ut in Mose adversarii contendebant, sed etiam auctarium cujuscunque generis sit, hoc est, sive contrarium, sive non contrarium, sed tantum præter ea, quæ erant Joanni revelata. Secundo, nihil augustius adversarii tribuunt huic libro canonico, quam cuilibet etiam non canonico: nam huic nihil unquam licet addere, tanquam scriptum ab auctore, aut demere tanquam non scriptum. Unde fit ut detestentur omnes viri boni expurgatorum injustam audaciam, qui sibi auctoritatem arrogarunt quidlibet pro arbitrio addendi, et evadendi ex omni genere librorum. Tertio nullum hoc jus esse proprium huic Apocalypseos libro, sed generale omnibus canonicis. Quare etsi intelligenda hæc verba essent, tanquam dicta de eo libro tantum: tamen probarent etiam generalem propositionem.—Chamier. Panstrat. Cathol., lib. viii. cap. vi. § 44, 45. tom. i. p. 225. Genevæ. 1626.

[z] See above sect. 16.

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law be a light to the steps of them that walked by the law[a], can it not enlighten their eyes and give wisdom to the simple, unless all things necessary to salvation be clear in the Scriptures?

§ 33. I do maintain, for a consequence of the grounds of Christianity, that the New Testament is veiled in the Old[b], that David and Solomon being prophets, and the doctrine of the prophets tending to discover the New Testament under the Old, by degrees, more and more, the law is called by them a light, because it taught them who discovered the secret of the Gospel in it and under it, the way to that salvation which only the Gospel procureth. And in this consideration it is said, Psalm xxv. 8, 11, 13, "Them that be meek shall God guide in judgment, and such as be gentle them shall He teach His law. What man is he that feareth the Lord? him shall He teach in the way that He shall choose. The secret of the Lord is among them that fear Him, and He will shew them His covenant." And though I cannot here make this good, yet will the exception be of force to infringe a voluntary presumption, that all things necessary to salvation are clear in the Scriptures, because the law, forsooth, is a light to the actions of him that lived under it.

§ 34. Now to all those scriptures whereby it is pretended[c] that the Scriptures are clear to them that have God's Spirit, but obscure to them that have it not, I conceive I have settled a peremptory exception[d] by shewing that the believing of all 34
things necessary to salvation is a condition requisite to the

[a] See below, chap. xxvi. sect. 20.

[b] Vetus Testamentum in novo revelatum, in vetere Novum velatum vides. S. Augustin. in Psalm. cv. § 36. tom. iv. col. 1201. ed. Ben. See chap. xiii.

[c] Sunt duo hominum genera, quorum alii fideles, alii infideles sunt. Infidelibus omnia sunt obscura, ii nihil recte intelligunt, sed in maximis tenebris versantur. Fideles autem ea omnia intelligunt, quæ nisi intelligantur vera salus amittitur. Nihil plane eorum quæ ad salutem necessaria sunt, ignorant. Sic Christus, Joh. x. 27, 'Oves meæ vocem meam audiunt,' id est, intelligunt. Sic Jeremias xxxi. 34, 'omnes scient Dominum a minimo ad maximum.' Sic Christus discipulis ait, Luc. viii. 10, 'vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni Dei.' Sic Paulus, 1 Cor. ii. ult. vers., 'nos mentem Christi tenemus.' Qui ergo fideles sunt, scripturas intelligunt, agnoscunt, approbant. Et scripturæ quidem tales in se sunt, ut sua luce omnium ad se oculos convertant, faciantque, ut non modo intelligantur, sed et fide suscipiantur. Nam non modo in se lucent, sed alios sua luce collustrant. Apostolus enim 2 Cor. iv. 6, Scriptura non φῶς tantum sed et φωτισμὸν etiam tribuit. Tanta ergo est Scripturæ claritas, ut et nobis etiam qui natura cæci sumus, oculos aperiat, et clarum aspectum restituat.—Whitaker. Controv. 1. Quæst. iv. cap. iv. p. 343. Genev. 1610.

[d] See chap. iii. sects. 13, 14. chap. iv. sect. 1—4.

attaining of the grace or gift of God's Spirit. For if that be true, then can no presumption of the right understanding of the Scriptures be granted upon supposition of God's Spirit, and the dictate of it. If that exposition of the Scripture, which any man pretendeth, be not evidenced by those reasons which the motives of faith create and justify, without supposing it to be made known by God's Spirit to him that pretends it, in vain will it be to allege that the Spirit of God is in him that sets it forth. Neither do we find that they who pretend God's Spirit do rest in that pretence, lest they should be laughed at for their pains; but do allege reasons for their pretence, as much as they who pretend the Church to be infallible do allege reasons whereby they know that which they decree to be true; which were a disparagement to the Spirit of God if the dictate thereof were to pass for evidence. CHAP. V.

§ 35. I grant therefore that true Christians have God's Spirit, and that thereby they do try and condemn all things that agree not with our common Christianity, and that this is the unction whereof St. John speaketh. But not because the gift of the Holy Ghost importeth a promise of understanding the Scriptures in all Christians, but because it supposeth the knowledge of that which is necessary to salvation, which is our common Christianity, and therefore enableth to condemn all that agreeth not with it. If there were, over and above, a grace of understanding the Scriptures, and of discovering the Gospel in the law, extant in the Church under the Apostles, —to which our Lord opened their hearts, Luke xxiv. 45, and which Justin the Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.*[e], affirmeth that the Church of his time was endowed with—first it was given in consideration of their professing Christianity; then it tended only to discover those grounds upon which the Church now proceeds in the use of ordinary reason to expound the Old Testament according to the New.

§ 36. As for Cartwright's argument[f], I relate it not because I think it worth the answering, but that you may see how prejudice is able to transport even learned men from their senses. It had been easy for one less a scholar than he to have said, that when Jeremy saith it never came in God's mind to command their idolatries, He meant a great deal [Cartwright's argument.]

[e] See above, sect. 7. note f.

[f] See above, sect. 29.

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more, that He had forbidden them under the greatest penalties of the law; which all that know the law know to be true. When he forgetteth such an obvious figure, you may see he had a mind to infer more than the words of the prophet will prove.

Neither is there any consent of all Christians to evidence the same.

§ 37. It is to be observed in this place that there is no mention of things necessary to salvation in all these Scriptures; nor can it be said that this limitation of the sufficiency and clearness of the Scriptures is as clearly grounded upon the Scriptures, as it were requisite that things necessary to salvation should be clear to all that seek to be saved. And this shall serve for my answer, if any man should be so confident as to undertake to prove the sufficiency and clearness of them so limited, by the consent of the Church. For it is manifest that hitherto the authorities of Church writers[g] cannot be considered any otherwise than as the opinions of particular persons, which no ways import the consent of the whole Church; for whereas hitherto there is nothing to oblige the faith of any Christian, but that which is plain by the Scriptures and the consent of the Church, it no ways appears as yet how the authorities of Church writers can evidence the consent of [the] Church.

§ 38. I will not therefore be curious here to heap up the sayings of the fathers, commending the sufficiency and clearness of the Scriptures; one or two I will take notice of, because they are all I can remember, in which the limitation thereof, to things which our salvation requires us to believe, is expressed. St. Augustine *de Doctr. Christiana*, ii. 9:[h] *In eis enim quæ aperte in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.* "In those things which are plainly set down in the Scriptures is found whatsoever that faith or manners by which we live doth contain." St. Chrysostom in 2 *ad Thessal. Hom.* iii.:[i] *πάντα σαφῆ καὶ εὐθέα τὰ παρὰ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα.* "All things are plain and straight in the Scriptures, all things that are necessary are manifest." Whereunto we may add the words of Constantine to the council of Nicæa, in Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 7:[k] *εὐαγγελικαὶ γάρ, φησι, βίβλοι, καὶ ἀποστολικαὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν τὰ θεσπίσματα σαφῶς*

[g] See chap. xxii.
[h] Tom. iii. col. 24. ed. Ben.
[i] Tom. iv. p. 234. ed. Savil.
[k] P. 25. Mogunt. 1679.

ἡμᾶς ἃ χρὴ περὶ τοῦ Θείου φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσιν. "For the writings of the evangelists and Apostles, and the oracles of the ancient prophets plainly teach us what we are to think of God."

§ 39. But I will also take notice that the same St. Augustine, *de Doctr. Christiana* iii. 2,[1] saith, that the rule of faith—which he had set forth in the first book—is had from the plainer places of the Scripture and the authority of the Church. And the same St. Chrysostom in the next homily[m], says, Ὁμοίως δὲ κἀκεῖνα, καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀξιόπιστα, ὥστε καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀξιόπιστον ἡγώμεθα. παράδοσίς ἐστι, μηδὲν πλέον ζήτει. "Those things" which the Apostles wrote, "and these" which they delivered by word of mouth, "are equally credible. Therefore let us think the tradition of the Church deserves credit. It is a tradition, seek no more." And Vincentius, in the beginning of his *Commonitorium*[n], or Remembrance, confessing the canon of the Scriptures to be every way perfect and sufficient, requires nevertheless the tradition of the Church for the steady understanding of it. And therefore I have just ground to say, that all that is necessary to salvation is not clear in the Scriptures to all that can read, in the opinion of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine[o]: but to all that read, supposing the rule of faith received from the Church, to bound and limit the sense

[1] Cum ergo adhibita intentio incertum esse perviderit, quomodo distinguendum aut quomodo pronuntiandum sit, consulat regulam fidei, quam de Scripturarum planioribus locis et Ecclesiæ auctoritate percepit, de qua satis egimus, cum de rebus in primo libro loqueremur.—Tom. iii. col. 45. ed. Ben.

[m] Tom. iv. p. 237. ed. Savil.

[n] Hic forsitan requirat aliquis. Cum sit perfectus Scripturarum canon sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, quid opus est, ut ei Ecclesiasticæ intelligentiæ jungatur auctoritas? Quia videlicet Scripturam Sacram pro ipsa sua altitudine non uno eodemque sensu universi accipiunt, sed ejusdem eloquia aliter atque aliter, alius atque alius interpretatur; ut pene quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiæ erui posse videantur. Aliter namque illam Novatianus, aliter Sabellius, aliter Donatus exponit, aliter Arrius, Eunomius, Macedonius, aliter Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscillianus; aliter Jovinianus, Pelagius, Cœlestius, aliter postremo Nestorius. Atque idcirco multum necesse est, propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractus, ut propheticæ et Apostolicæ interpretationis linea secundum Ecclesiastici et Catholici sensus normam dirigatur. In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.—Cap. ii. p. 301. Pedepont. 1742.

[o] Whitaker, after citing the passage from St. Augustine, in sect. 38, argues from it as follows:—Sed Augustinus aperte concedit, in Scripturis tradi aperte, quæcunque fidem simpliciter moresque vivendi continent. Quam vero illud impium atque ἀθεόλογον est, quædam esse simpliciter necessaria omnibus ad salutem, quædam non omnibus. Quasi fides alia sit præsulum, alia populi.—De Sacr. Script. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xvii. p. 414. Genev. 1610.

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and exposition of the Scriptures. And therefore may more justly suppose the same limitation when they speak of the perfection and sufficiency and clearness of the Scripture at large, without confining their speech to that which the necessity of salvation requires us to believe. And this is already a sufficient bar to any man that shall pretend the consent of the Church, which concurreth to evidence the truth of the Scripture, for the perspicuity thereof in things necessary to be believed, to all whom they may concern. For so long as tradition may be requisite beside Scripture, that cannot appear. When it shall appear, whether requisite or not, then will it appear how far the sufficiency and perspicuity of the Scripture teacheth. And this I come now to enquire.

CHAPTER VI.

ALL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IS TO BE CONFINED WITHIN THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH. THIS SUPPOSETH THAT THE CHURCH IS A COMMUNION INSTITUTED BY GOD. WHAT MEANS THERE IS TO MAKE EVIDENCE OF GOD'S CHARTER, UPON WHICH THE CORPORATION OF THE CHURCH SUBSISTETH. THE NAME OF THE CHURCH, IN THE SCRIPTURES, OFTEN SIGNIFIETH THE WHOLE OR CATHOLIC CHURCH.

All interpretation of Scripture is to be confined within the tradition of the Church.

THIS presumption then, which is able to prejudice the truth, by disparaging the means God hath given to discover it; and that by possessing men that things pretended to be necessary to salvation would have been clear of themselves to all men in the Scriptures, if they were true; but nothing conducing to clear the doubtful meaning of any Scripture, that is never so true[p]; this presumption I say being removed, and the authority of the Church, as the reason of believing, taken away, it remains that we affirm whatsoever the whole Church, from the beginning, hath received and practised for the rule of faith and manners, all that to be evidently true by the same reason for which we believe the very Scriptures; and therefore that the meaning of them is necessarily to be confined within those bounds, so that nothing must be admitted for the truth of them which contradicteth the same.

§ 2. We saw before[q] that the Scripture consisteth of motives

[p] "Admit that all things necessary to the salvation of all are clearly contained in the Scriptures, am I ever a whit the nearer for that to know what the meaning is of this or that obscure Scripture?" MSS.

[q] See chap. iii. sects. 15, 21. See also chap. iv. sect. 9.

to faith and matter of faith; that in the motives of faith, supposing them sufficient, when admitted for true, a difficulty may be made, upon what evidence they are admitted for true; that the conviction of this truth consisteth in the profession and conversation of all those who, from the beginning receiving Christianity, have transmitted it to their successors for a law and rule to their beliefs and conversations: wherefore there can remain no further question concerning the truth of that, which stands recommended to us by those same means, that evidence the truth of those motives, for which we receive
36 Christianity. Had there been no common Christianity to have been read[r], in the profession and practice of all that call themselves Christians, it would not have been possible to convince the enemies of Christianity that we are obliged to believe the Scriptures.

§ 3. If the professing and practising things so contrary to the interest of flesh and blood, be an evidence that they are delivered and received from them who first shewed reasons to believe; it must first remain evident that there are certain things that were so professed and practised from the beginning, before it can be evident that the motives, upon which they are said to be received, were indeed tendered to the world for that purpose. This is that common stock of Christianity which in the first place, after receiving the Scriptures, is to be admitted for the next principle, toward the settling of truth controverted concerning the meaning of them, as flowing immediately from the reason for which they are received, and immediately flowing into the evidence that can be made of any thing questionable in the same. It is that sound ingredient of nature which by due application must either cure all distempers in the Church, or leave them incurable and everlasting.

This supposeth that the Church is a communion instituted by God.

§ 4. And truly if it were as easy to make evidence what those things are which have been received, professed, and practised from the beginning by the whole Church, as it is necessary to admit all such for truth, I suppose there would remain no great difficulty in admitting this principle. But in

[r] "When men are baptized and made members of the Church upon professing the common Christianity, then the said common Christianity is to be read in the profession and practice," &c. MSS.

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regard it is so easy to shew what contradiction hath been made within the pale of the Church, to that which elsewhere, otherwhiles hath been received; I cannot tell whether men despair to find any thing generally received from the beginning, and therefore lay aside this principle, not as false but as useless, and not to be put in practice. Wherein, that men mistake not themselves, they must take notice, that it will not concern my position, that all original Catholic tradition is to be supposed for unquestionable truth, in deciding what is questionable concerning the truth of the Scripture, that concerning most matters there is no Catholic tradition, or consent of the Church. For I do profess, that were not the Church, or had it not been one society, one visible body, communion, or corporation of men from the beginning—the communion whereof always confined the profession and conversation of Christians to some certain visible rule—I should think it impossible to make evidence of any common truth received of all Christians. But if it can be made to appear that the Church was from the beginning such a society, then may such rules as reasonably appear to be original and Catholic, as it can appear reasonable to any man that he ought to be a Christian.

[Two questions about the Church.]

§ 5. Here I must note that concerning the state of the Church, whether it be such a society as I have said, distinct from all civil societies of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths, there may be two questions made; the one of fact, whether indeed the Church hath been such a society since the first being of it, and the conversion of believers to Christianity; the other of right, whether by the appointment of God, or by human consent of such, who being converted to Christianity, agreed to live in communion, by whatsoever rule it may appear they have admitted. But these two are so near one another, that if the question of fact can be proved, and it appear that such was the Church from the beginning, it will be a presumption in a manner peremptory of the Church's title by divine right; though there is difference made between them, as appears by the opinion related afore[s], that the power of excommunication was settled in the Church afore Constantine, by human consent, not by God's appoint-

[s] Chap. ii. sect. 11.

ment. Which, by consequence of like reason, extends to all other points wherein the power of the Church consists.

§ 6. For my present purpose it were enough to make it appear that the Church was, *de facto*, such a society from the beginning. But the proving of the point of right will be only making the same inference, which hath been always concluded, out of that evidence which resolveth the point of fact. And the conclusion thus inferred will be both necessary and effectual to clear the positive right of the Church[t] in deciding controversies of faith, which will be the best satisfaction why, negatively, it cannot extend to create the ground upon which
37 we are to believe. I will therefore wrap them up both together in the process of my discourse.

§ 7. In which I find that difficulty which St. Augustine[u] observeth in proving any of those things which are most manifest to common reason and sense; for it shall be hard to bring arguments that are much clearer than that which they intend to prove. That the Church had been from the beginning one outwardly, by visible communion, as well as one inwardly, by invisible faith and love, could not be questioned so long as it prevailed. Neither was it foreseen, at dissolving the unity of the western Church for the reformation, that it would ever come to this dispute, whether there had been always, and ought to be one Catholic and Apostolic Church; for each party hoped well to be so themselves, as being persuaded that their adversaries ought to unite themselves unto them, upon acknowledgment that the truth was on their side.

What means there is to make evidence of God's charter, upon which the corporation of the Church subsisteth.

§ 8. And truly I acknowledge, that there is no clear mention of a precept of God, commanding all Christians to hold the unity of the Catholic Church, by outward communion with it. For the intent of God to call the Gentiles to Christianity, seemeth to be the utmost of that which is clearly declared by the Scriptures. That His intent was to unite all Christians in one visible communion of the Church, there is evidence by consequence to be had from the Scriptures. But what the form should be, before the materials were prepared, it were as strange to think that the stones and timber, par-

[No precept for an outward communion.]

[t] "If the right of the Church be positively confined to the determination of controversy arising upon supposition of the common faith—and that not to the effect of believing but professing—then negatively it cannot extend." MSS.

[u] The Editor has not ascertained where this observation is made.

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ticular Christians, ought to know, as that the surveyors, the Apostles and their fellows, should not know. That therefore the Church was from the beginning, and ought to be one visible communion, must be shewed by the ingredients and principles, or elements of all visible societies; which, in the society of the Church, will appear proportionable to the nature and pretence of it.

[The elements of a corporate body.]

§ 9. Supposing from common sense and experience, that all civil societies or commonwealths—unto which the name of societies or communities principally, because most visibly, belongeth—are constituted and founded upon certain rights of sovereign power, which some call in Latin *Jura Majestatis*, being indeed the particulars wherein the right and power of sovereignty consisteth. For when it is once resolved in what hands that power is to remain, then is the state and form of government constituted, and thereby distinguished from other forms of commonwealth, according to the quality of those persons in whom this power is established. That being ruled by certain laws, acknowledging certain governors, being subject to the power of the sword, by which those governors execute those laws, are the effects of sovereign power, being the principal of the said ingredients or particulars, the certain and necessary marks of a distinct commonwealth, is that which I suppose from common experience.

[Divers kinds of corporations.]

§ 10. There are societies which subsist by the law of nature and nations; as that which Aristotle[x] observes, among those that are embarked in the same bottom for the same voyage; that which the Jewish law supposes among the caravans of the East, consisting of subjects and members of several commonwealths. There are communities and corporations which subsist by the act of sovereign power in each commonwealth, allowing that power over the members to the whole—that is, such persons as are allowed to act for the whole—as they think fit. If the whole Church, from the beginning, have acknowledged certain laws, by which they were governed in those things wherein the communion of the Church consisteth, certain governors, to whom they ought to give respect according to those laws, a power of putting out of the Church —answerable to the power of putting to death by the sword

[x] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 6.

—into which the co-active power of commonwealths is resolved[y], then is the Church and always was such a society, wherein the same rule of faith might be, and was always from the beginning, preserved by tradition and custom, which is my present business to shew.

[The Church is a visible corporation by a law of God.]

§ 11. And if the Church always was so *de facto*, then is it so always *de jure;* if it did always hold unity in the faith, and communion in the service of God, by the means of certain laws, certain rulers, a certain power of granting or refusing this communion, then was there a precept of God delivered
38 to the Church by the Apostles, commanding them so to live. For that which was as difficult as impossible to have been introduced, without conviction of the will of God, as the rest of Christianity, of necessity must go for part of it. But that in such variety of men's fancies, reasons, and inclinations, the Church, consisting from the beginning of all nations, and dispersed all over the world, should of their own inclination, not swayed by any information of God's will received with Christianity, agree in the same laws and rulers, submitting to the exercise of the same power upon themselves, is as impossible as that the world should consist of the casual concourse of atoms, according to Democritus and Epicurus.

The name of the Church in the Scriptures often signifieth the whole orCatholic Church.

§ 12. The name of the Church[z], without peradventure, was first used to signify the whole body of God's people in the wilderness, when they might be, and were called together and assembled, upon their common occasions, which the word קהל ἐκκλησία or συναγωγὴ signifies[a]. After which time, the people continuing still one and the same, by virtue of the

[y] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 46.

[z] Dr. Isaac Barrow, in his Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church, after saying that "The union of the whole Church in one body, under one government or sovereign authority, would be inconvenient and hurtful; prejudicial to the main designs of Christianity; destructive to the welfare and peace of mankind in many respects," proceeds to say that "the reasons alleged in proof of such an unity are insufficient and inconcluding; the which—with great diligence, although not with like perspicuity—advanced by a late Divine of great repute, and collected out of his writings with some care, are those which briefly proposed do follow, together with answers declaring their invalidity.

"Arg. 1. The name Church is attributed to the whole body of Christians; which implieth unity.

"Answ. This indeed doth imply an unity of the Church, but determineth not the kind or ground thereof: there being several kinds of unity, one of those which we have touched, or several, or all of them may suffice to ground that comprehensive appellation."—Barrow's Theol. Works, vol. vii. p. 674. Oxford, 1830.

[a] See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 7.

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same laws then received, and the powers placed in their rulers, not only the whole people, but such parts of it as resorted to the same government, have still borne and do bear the same name; the synagogue of Libertines, Cyrenæans, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and Asians for example, Acts vi. 9. Which name first belongs to the respective bodies of Jews that subsisted at Rome, Cyrene, or Alexandria, in Cilicia or Asia; and consequently, by metonymy, to the places where such of those bodies as chanced to be at Jerusalem might assemble themselves; and to so many of those bodies as, being at Jerusalem, did assemble at those places.

§ 13. Now no Christian can doubt that the body of Christians succeeds in the stead of God's ancient people; and therefore the name of God's Church, when it stands without limitation, signifies no less. As when our Lord saith, Matt. xvi. 18, "Upon this rock will I found My Church." Whatsoever the disciples then conceived the Church should be, our Lord, that knew all, by the name of it, meant all that duly bears the name. And therefore, when He saith once again, Matt. xviii. 17, "Tell it to the Church," it is strange there should be Christians[b] that should think He means the Jews and their rulers, and that the precept concerns Christians no longer, now they have left the Jews. Though it is true, a man cannot tell his cause to the whole Church, but to that part of it to which he can resort, which is called by the name of the whole, as I said even now of the synagogue.

§ 14. St. Paul to the Colossians, i. 24, 25, calling the Church the body of Christ, saith, that he, by the dispensation of God towards them, which he is trusted with, is become "the minister of the Church;" to wit, as Angels are ministers of the Church, because ministers of God towards it. And therefore minister of the whole Church, which is the body of Christ, not of any particular Church, as if an Apostle could be bound to execute his office according to the discretion of any Church, which for God's cause he attends; as all ministers are bound to execute their office, according to the will of them whose ministers they are. It is therefore the whole Church in which God hath set Apostles, evangelists, prophets, and the use of the graces rehearsed 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11.

[b] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 33. note b.

Because the office of these graces can by no means be confined, either to any particular Church, or to any part of the whole Church.

§ 15. The name of the Church signifies the same thing again, Eph. i. 22; iii. 21; v. 23—32. While all Christendom was contained in the Church at Jerusalem, the name of the Church is so used, Acts ii. 47, v. 11, viii. 1, 3, that it is no matter whether we understand by it the whole Church, or the Church of Jerusalem. The reason, because all right and power, that can at any time be found vested in the whole Church, was then as fully in the Church at Jerusalem, as it can be at any time in the whole Church, though in respect of a body never so much greater than it; as a child is as much a man the day of his birth as the day of his death, and a tree as much a tree when it grows once as when it is come to the height. But Christianity being propagated among Jews and Gentiles, as we read of the Churches of Judæa, Samaria and Galilee, Acts ix. 31, and must needs understand the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written to Churches consisting
39 only of Hebrews, as those of St. Peter, and that of St. James, which mentions "the elders of the Church," James v. 14. So "the Churches of the Gentiles" in St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 4, we easily understand to be "the Churches of Asia," 1 Cor. xvi. 9, Apoc. i. 11, "the Churches of Galatia," 1 Cor. xvi. 1, "the Churches of Macedonia," 2 Cor. viii. 1, and the rest that were visible in St. Paul's time.

§ 16. Now suppose for the present that these Churches mentioned by the Apostles were no more than so many congregations, as our Independents would have it[c]; seeing they

[c] "Reasons to shew there were not more than could meet in one place.

"The Holy Ghost hath from first to last as on purpose shewed this, as if his scope had been aforehand to prevent and to preclude all reasonings to the contrary.

"1. In the beginnings of that Church, their meetings are set out to us by two adjuncts. First that they met ὁμοθυμαδὸν, with one accord in the same duty of prayer, Acts i. 14; and secondly, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, together in one and the same company, ver. 15. . . . .

"2. Then chap. ii. 1. Another meeting of theirs for worship at Pentecost is continued to be expressed in the same phrases a second time, 'they were all with one accord in one place.'

"3. There when about three thousand, yet still some of their meetings then for some acts of worship are recorded to have been as before with one accord, as joining unanimously in the same duty, and instead of that former expression, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ—used of the former meetings—there is the mention of the place itself, where they met, set down to supply it, and so to interpret it, and shews it was still in one assembly, ver. 46."—Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterial Government, p. 13. London, 1648.

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deny not so many Churches to be so many bodies, what reason can they give why the name of the Church, when it stands for the whole Church, should not signify the like? There is a prerogative attributed to the whole Church by St. Paul, 1 Tim. iii. 15, when he calls it "the base and pillar of truth." For that this should be said of any particular Church it were too ridiculous to imagine. Can the Church bear this attribute if it be not capable of doing any act that may verify it? And if it be not a body, what act can it do? In fine, the correspondence between God's ancient people and His new Israel according to the spirit, seems to require, that as the religion of the Jews[d], and not any civil power of the nation, makes them all one body at this day, in point of fact, by sufferance of sovereigns, because they were once so in point of right; so the religion of Christians should make them one body in point of right, how many bodies soever they are burst into, in point of fact, by their own wantonness.

[The Independent theory.]

§ 17. For the Independents' exception which I spoke of can be of no force, unless they will make it appear that all those Churches, that are mentioned in the writings of the Apostles, did assemble in one place. Not that if this could be made to appear they had done their business, but because if it do not appear, their plea is peremptorily barred. We read then of three thousand souls added in one day to a hundred and twenty of the Church at Jerusalem, Acts i. 15; ii. 41. To these were added, or with these they became five thousand, Acts iv. 4. To whom were added multitudes of

[d] Barrow sums up the argument thus, and then replies:—"The Jewish Church was one corporation, and in correspondence thereto the Christian Church should be such."

"Ans. 1. As the Christian Church doth in some things correspond to that of the Jews, so it differeth in others, being designed to excel it. Wherefore this argumentation cannot be valid; and may as well be employed for our opinion as against it.

"Ans. 2. In like manner it may be argued that all Christians should annually meet in one place, that all Christians should have one archpriest on earth, that we should all be subject to one temporal jurisdiction, that we should all speak one language.

"Ans. 3. There is a great difference in the case, for the Israelites were one small nation, which conveniently might be embodied; but the Christian Church should consist of all nations, which rendereth correspondence in this particular impracticable, at least without great inconvenience.

"Ans. 4. Before the law, Christian religion, and consequently a Christian Church, did in substance subsist; but what unity of government was there then?

"Ans. 5. The temporal union of the Jews might only figure the spiritual unity of Christians in faith, charity, and peace."—Discourse of Unity, Theological Works, vol. vii. pp. 678, 679. Oxford, 1830.

men and women, Acts ii. 47; v. 14. These assembled daily in private to serve God as Christians, as well as in the Temple, to serve God with His then people, Acts ii. 42, 44, 46; v. 13; vi. 1, 4. And shall we think that all the Christians in Corinth, where God had said to St. Paul that He had many people, Acts xviii. 10, could meet in one room, because St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xi. 20, "when ye meet together in one place[e]?" For they must not only meet together, but sup together, as the Apostle shews, which would require a great room if God had many people there. And all the believers at Jerusalem met together, and supped together, Acts ii. 44, 46, vi. 1, but not six thousand in one room, as I suppose. Therefore at Corinth also there might be more congregations than one, where the Church was but one, and all might meet together, though in several places several assemblies.

§ 18. In the mean time I do not hear what they say to that which I have alleged in my book of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 44—50[f], to shew that we never read of more Churches than one in one city, but every where of more than one in one province, in the writings of the Apostles. And therefore I will here plead further; that from the time of the Apostles to the reformation—which wherein it consisteth, my business is to enquire, and therefore not to suppose that it consisteth in every thing that hath been done—all the Independents in the world shall never be able to shew me any thing called a Church, but the body of Christians that lived in one city and the territory of it. Indeed at the first preaching of Christianity it must needs come to pass that the number of Christians in a very great city might be so little, that they might meet all at once. And the name of cities might be extended to towns and villages that could make but few congregations, when the question was made whether they

[e] "To such a body how many members may be added is not limited expressly in the word, only it is provided in the word that they be no more than that all may meet in one congregation, that all may hear, and all may be edified. For—as hath been noted above—the Apostle so describeth the whole Church as meeting in one place, 1 Cor. xiv. 23. But if all cannot hear, all cannot be edified. Besides, the Apostle requireth that when the Church meeteth together for the celebrating of the Lord's Supper, 'they shall tarry one for another,' 1 Cor. xi. 33. Which argueth the Church endued with only ordinary officers should consist of no greater number than that all might partake together of the Lord's Supper in one congregation," &c.—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. iii. sect. i. pp. 53, 54. London, 1645.

[f] Chap. ii. sect. 1—7. See below, chap. xiv. sects. 20—25.

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should make several Churches, or resort to one; as I have instanced there.

§ 19. But because we have yet extant ancient lists[g] of all the Churches of the Roman empire, and the sovereignties into which it is dissolved, punctually agreeing with the records of all Church writers in comprising the whole sum of Christians within and under one city in one Church. It may perhaps be found that all the Christians in a whole nation might resort to one Church, which was the Church of the head city. But that ever there were any Christians that took it for a law, that every congregation is to be a Church, before the reformation, it can by no means appear, whatsoever hath been done since; and therefore I challenge that all reasonable men must allow all Christians that succeeded the Apostles, understood the meaning of their writings by their acts—when they cast all the Christians in and under one city every where into one Church—better than those who now challenge for a law of God, that all congregations are to be Churches. And thus far it appears, by the same evidence upon which we accept of our common Christianity, that is by the Scriptures, and by the consent of all Christians, that the Apostles so founded the Churches of their planting, that they might be fit to concur to the constitution of one whole Church.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT THE APOSTLES DELIVERED TO THE CHURCH A SUMMARY OF CHRISTIANITY, WHICH ALL THAT SHOULD BE BAPTIZED WERE TO PROFESS. EVIDENCE OUT OF THE SCRIPTURES. EVIDENCE OUT OF THE SCRIPTURES FOR TRADITION REGULATING THE COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH, AND THE ORDER OF IT. EVIDENCE FOR THE RULE OF FAITH OUT OF THE RECORDS OF THE CHURCH. FOR THE CANONS OF THE CHURCH, AND THE PEDIGREE OF THEM FROM THE ORDER ESTABLISHED IN THE CHURCH BY THE APOSTLES. THAT THE PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND THAT BY BEING BAPTIZED, IS NECESSARY TO THE SALVATION OF A CHRISTIAN.

That the Apostles delivered to the

BUT I will grant[h] that this were not evidence enough out of the Scriptures, for a point of such consequence as it will appear

[g] See Bingham's Christian Antiquities, bk. ix. particularly chapp. vi. and vii. there.

[h] "The premises were not sufficient evidence for the corporation of the Church—the ground of all that follows—were it not attested by the same consent of Christians which evidenceth the motives of Christianity to be true."—MSS.

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Church a summary of Christianity which all that should be baptized were to profess.

to be of when it appears to be true, were it not for the general inference that I made afore. Here I challenge, having proved against the Leviathan[i], that whosoever acknowledges our Lord Jesus to be the Christ, must acknowledge whatsoever He teaches and delivers, either by Himself or the Apostles His deputies, to be law to the Church, that whatsoever it may appear any way that the Apostles delivered to the Church to be observed in it, is of that nature. I say further[k], it is evident by their writings that they delivered to the Church a certain summary of Christianity, which whosoever was admitted into the Church by baptism, undertook to profess and practise. Indeed this is the main point now in hand, that all interpretation of Scripture is to be confined within this summary as the rule of our common Christianity. And therefore it may seem that I go about first to prove the corporation of the Church by this rule, and then to prove the rule by the consent of the Church, whereby I pretend to evidence what the Apostles delivered to the Church for the rule of our common Christianity.

§ 2. But I can easily answer that it is one thing to question whether the Apostles did deliver any such rule to the Church from the beginning or not; another, what it contains, and what belongs to it as part of it, what not. If it may appear by the writings of the Apostles that delivered it, and by the acknowledgment of the Church that received it—for what other means can there be to make it appear?—that such a sense the Apostles did deliver to the Church, it will be a great part of the evidence that they did found the Church for a corporation, wherein the profession of it might be preserved, and wherein God might be served according to the profession of it. And if this may appear, then the consent

[i] Chap. v. sects. 15, 16.

[k] Barrow objects to this chapter as follows, first summing Thorndike's argument thus:—"The Apostles delivered one rule of faith to all Churches, the embracing and professing whereof, celebrated in baptism, was a necessary condition to the admission into the Church, and to continuance therein; therefore Christians are combined together in one political body."

"Ans. 1. The consequence is very weak; for from the antecedent it can only be inferred, that—according to the sentiment of the ancients—all Christians should consent in one faith; which unity we avow, and who denieth?

"Ans. 2. By like reason all mankind must be united in one political body; because all men are bound to agree in what the light of nature discovereth to be true and good; or because the principles of natural religion, justice and humanity, are common to all."—Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 675, 676. Oxford, 1830.

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of this corporation will be as good evidence as the subject matter allows, whether any thing questionable be part of it or not.

Evidence out of the Scriptures.

§ 3. Let us then hear the Apostles: "Thanks be to God" saith St. Paul, Rom. vi. 17, "that being once slaves to sin, ye have obeyed from your heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you." Had he only said it was delivered, they had not acknowledged themselves obliged, but when he says they obeyed it, he shews they were under the obligation that God cast on them by delivering it. 2 Pet. ii. 21: "It had been better for them not to have owned the way of righteousness, than, having owned it, to return from the holy commandment delivered." What is this "holy commandment," what is this "way of righteousness," but, in one word, Christianity? Which when he saith it was delivered, he means, by metonymy, that it was received, because he saith further that they had owned 41
it. The same is called by another Apostle, Jude 3, "the faith once delivered to the saints." And St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. 13, 14: "Hold fast the form of wholesome words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is through Christ Jesus. Keep that good thing which was deposited in trust with thee, through the Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us." ii. 2: "And those things which thou hast heard of me under many witnesses, deposit with trusty persons, who may also be able to teach others." Would you have any thing plainer than this, to shew that the sum of Christianity was delivered for a rule by the Apostles, by which their successors were to examine all doctrines?

§ 4. Therefore, 1 Tim. vi. 20, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane novelties of terms, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called, which some professing, have failed of the faith." By the rule of faith, which he had deposited in his trust, he will have him exclude the pretences of the Gnostics, which every man might see were inconsistent with it. Whereupon St. John calls it the unction, 1 John ii. 20—24, 27, by which they knew all things—to wit, that belong to the common faith of Christians, and therefore the inconsistence of it with the pretences of Antichristians—continuing in that which they had heard from the beginning, when they turned Christians. "And you,"

saith the Apostle, "have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things. I write not to you because you know not the truth, but because you know it, and that no lie is of the truth. Therefore let that which you have heard from the beginning abide in you. If that which you have heard from the beginning abide in you, then shall you also abide in the Son and in the Father." It is plain enough why this truth which they had heard from the beginning of their Christianity is called the unction, because the anointing of the Holy Ghost—the gift whereof, as I have shewed you[1], presupposeth Christianity—is granted upon consideration of being baptized into the profession of Christianity. Wherefore it followeth in St. John, "As for you, the unction which you have received of Him abideth in you: and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same unction teacheth you of all things, and is true and no lie, and as it hath taught you, abide in it."

§ 5. The unction teacheth all things that a Christian is to avoid, because it teacheth to avoid all that agreeth not with the truth which the same unction had taught him afore; when according to that which hath been said, being moved by the Holy Ghost to become a Christian, he was taught that truth, upon profession whereof he received the gift of the Holy Ghost for an habitual endowment. And the same is the Apostle's meaning, when he saith again, 1 John iii. 9, "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for His seed abideth in him." The seed of which a Christian is born, is the word of the Gospel, which begetteth children to God, when it prevaileth with sinners to become Christians. This word, obliging Christians upon their salvation not to sin, abideth not in him that sinneth, neither sinneth he in whom it abideth. So whether you call it unction or seed, in regard it is the rule of our conversation as well as of our belief, as he that abideth in the truth must needs reject heresies contrary to it, so in whom the seed which he is born of abideth, he cannot sin. And in his second Epistle 6, 7, 9, with St. Paul, he calls it "the commandment which they had received from the same beginning," to preserve them from the impostures of that time, enticing to transgress it.

[1] Chap. iii. sect. 3.

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§ 6. In fine, that this tradition is the law whereupon our Christianity standeth, you may see by the Apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 21, when he saith that "baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examination of a good conscience to God." That is to say, the answer that is made out of a good conscience, to the interrogatories that were even then propounded to them that were baptized, by which answer they tied themselves to profess the faith, and to live according to it, which St. Paul therefore calls that good profession which Timothy had made before many witnesses, 1 Tim. vi. 12—14, to wit, when he was baptized; and therefore conjures him—by the good profession which our Lord made before Pilate, of His kingdom, for which He suffered death—to preserve it unspotted. Which if it be so, then must no Christian imagine that the receiving of this tradition, or rule of faith, upon which men were admitted to baptism, and 42
made Christians, consisted only in professing to believe that which is necessary for the salvation of all Christians to be believed, but also in undertaking to live as Christianity requireth. Therefore St. Paul sometimes in his writings refers himself to the precepts, not only which he had delivered them, but also which they had received of him, charging his flock, not only with their duty, but also with their engagement, 1 Thess. iv. 1, 2, 11; 2 Thess. iii. 6.

Evidence out of the Scripture

§ 7. But beside the rule of faith, there is another sort of traditions[m], concerning outward order in the Church—by

[m] Dr. Barrow sums up the argument thus, and replies as follows:—"All Churches were tied to observe the same laws or rules of practice, the same orders of discipline and customs, therefore all do make one corporation."

"Ans. 1. That all Churches are bound to observe the same divine institutions doth argue only an unity of relation to the same heavenly King, or a specifical unity and similitude of policy, the which we do avow."

"Ans. 2. We do also acknowledge it convenient and decent, that all Churches in principal observances, introduced by human prudence, should agree so near as may be; an uniformity in such things representing and preserving unity of faith, of charity, of peace. Whence the governors of the primitive Church did endeavour such a uniformity, as the fathers of Nice profess in the canon forbidding of genuflexion on Lord's days, and in the days of Pentecost."

"Ans. 3. Yet doth not such an agreement or attempt at it, infer a political unity; no more than when all men, by virtue of a primitive general tradition, were tied to offer sacrifices and oblations to God, that consideration might argue all men to have been under the same government; or no more than the usual agreement of neighbour nations, in divers fashions, doth conclude such a unity."

"Ans. 4. In divers customs and observances several Churches did vary, with allowance; which doth rather infer a difference of polity, than agree-

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for tradition regulating the communion of the Church, and the order of it.

which unity is preserved, in the communion of those offices which God is to be served with by Christians—which Christians come to be subject to, by receiving their baptism from the Church, and consequently undertaking to serve God with the Church. For it is manifest that this communion cannot be maintained without certain rules, limiting the manner and circumstances of God's service, for time and place and the persons, both which are admitted to communion with the Church, and which are enabled to minister the offices of the same. Baptism is the door to all God's ordinances that Christians are obliged to serve God with. The praising of God, the reading and hearing of the Scriptures, and the expounding of them, the common prayers of Christian assemblies, are all offices which no Christian doubts that God is to be served with under the Gospel, though there be no express precept of the New Testament what offices the public service of God is to consist of; because, before the Gospel, they were always in use among God's people. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, being instituted by Christ to be frequented by the Church, at their assemblies for the service of God, must be reckoned among the positive laws of God to His Church, obliging only because commanded.

§ 8. He that supposeth the Church a corporation founded by God, to maintain the communion of those that believe in these offices, must consequently maintain a power of settling good order in the exercise of them, as for all other circumstances, so especially for the qualities of persons concurring to the celebrating of them. He that shews by the Scripture, that this order was provided for by the Apostles, in the Churches of their founding, shews that they intended the Church for a body endowed with power of limiting the like rules for the future. And this is to be shewed by many passages of St. Paul's Epistles. 1 Cor. xi. 2, 3—16, 20—34, having commended them for observing his traditions as he had delivered them, he is fain to argue very hard, that their women ought, their men ought not, to be veiled at divine

ment in other observances doth argue an unity thereof."

"Ans. 5. St. Cyprian doth affirm that in such matters every Bishop had a power to use his own discretion, without being obliged to comply with others."—Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 677, 678. Oxford, 1830.

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service; concluding, that if his reasons would not prevail, the contentious must rest in this, that "we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Why so, if particular Churches be not tied to keep unity with the whole? And by and by, proposing another disorder, in that they received not the Eucharist in common, poor and rich, he reproveth it, as contrary to that which he had delivered to them from the beginning; concluding, that "the rest will I set in order when I come." So 2 Thess. ii. 15: "Stand therefore, brethren, and hold fast the traditions which ye have been taught, either by word of mouth, or by any letter of ours."

§ 9. Neither can it be imagined that all Christians should be bound to hear the Apostles, and not be bound to hold those things for laws to their conversation in matters of religion, which the Apostles should teach them to that purpose. Of this nature is the decree at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 20, 28, that the then Churches of the Gentiles should abstain from things strangled and blood, as well as from fornication and the pollution of idols. For what is the ground or the purpose of it, but to preserve them in unity with the Churches of Jews become Christians? Of this nature is that blessing or thanksgiving mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17, 1 Tim. ii. 1, being, as I have shewed in a Discourse of the Service of God at the Assemblies of the Church, p. 350—370[n], a form of prayer or thanksgiving delivered in substance by the Apostles, for which the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper hath been always called the Eucharist, because it is to be celebrated with it. Of the same nature is that order which St. James gives, of praying for the sick, anointing them with oil; as well for the forgiveness of their sins, as for the recovery of their bodily 43
health, James v. 14, 15. Which, I suppose, no man will deny that it concerns all Churches alike.

Evidence for the rule of faith out of the records of the Church.

§ 10. If there be this evidence in the Scriptures for the beginnings of Church law, the practice of the Church from this beginning will afford much more. He that would deny the tradition of the rule of faith, what will he say to the creed of the Apostles? Not that I would have the words and syllables of it to contain whatsoever it is necessary for the

[n] Chap. x. sects. 38—58.

salvation of a Christian to believe; but because the creed is not the words of the creed, but the sense and meaning of them, together with that coherence and dependence of the parts thereof one upon and with another, which the reasons and grounds of them enforce.

§ 11. But first let it be understood that I make a difference between the rule of faith and the substance of Christianity: supposing Christianity to consist partly in matter of faith, partly in matter of manners; partly in things to be believed, partly in things to be done, though the creed extend only to matter of faith. There is nothing more evident in the practice of the whole Church, before the world had admitted the profession of Christianity, than this; that there was a time allowed and required by the Church for those that professed themselves converted to believe the truth of Christianity, to give trial of their conversation, before they were admitted to baptism.

[Of Catechumens.]

§ 12. The Constitutions of the Apostles viii. 32.[o] name three years, but with this limitation, that if any man demonstrate extraordinary zeal to Christianity, he be received without so long trial. Therefore if Clemens Alexandrinus[p] require five, it makes no difference. For what marvel if several Churches at several times had several customs, when upon extraordinary occasions they were dispensable? The Constitutions[q] require extraordinary trial of those that had practised any sort of magic, judging by the experience of the times that it was hard to part with such superstitions. It is enough for my purpose that during this time they might learn to behave themselves as Christians, by conversing among Christians, by coming to church and bearing a part in the praises of God, and hearing the Scriptures read and expounded. And what is more notorious in the practice of the ancient Church than the difference between *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa Fidelium*[r]; between that part of the

[o] Ὁ μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι τρία ἔτη κατηχείσθω· εἰ δε σπουδαιός τις ἢ καὶ εὔνοιαν ἔχει περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, προσδεχέσθω· ὅτι οὐχ ὁ χρόνος ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος κρίνεται.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 497. ed. Venet.

[p] The Editor has not been able to find the passage referred to.

[q] . . . . χρόνῳ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν· δυσέκνιπτος γὰρ ἡ κακία· παυσάμενοι οὖν προσδεχέσθωσαν, μὴ πειθόμενοι δὲ ἀποβαλλέσθωσαν.—viii. 32. ut supr.

[r] Lecto Evangelio et Sermone habito Catechumenorum Missa peracta erat. —Bened. xiv. *de Sacrificio Missæ*, § 1—140. tom. i. p. 192. Lovan. 1762.

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office of the Church, which pretenders to Christianity were admitted to—or hearers, that is, scholars and learners of it—and that which was peculiar to believers, that is, those that were baptized and made Christians?

[Of the Pædagogus of Clemens Alexandrinus.]

§ 13. It is the design of Clemens Alexandrinus's *Pædagogus*[a], to shew how the Word—whether our Lord Christ or His Gospel—is the pedagogue of mankind, in bringing them to be Christians. Not, as we mistake that word to signify, the master of a school, but as the fashion was then for men of quality to appoint a son a governor to conduct him to school and home again, to attend on him at his exercises, and upon all occasions to put him in mind how it might become him to behave himself, and to report to his father if he proved untractable. Thus he maketh pretenders to Christianity to be conducted by our Lord Christ and His Gospel in the conversation of Christians, till they come to demand their baptism of the Church: as it is manifest by the end of the book, where this governor, conducting His charge to the Church, gives him up into his own hands—so he saith expressly—as no more governor of children, but master of men in the school of His Church.

[The creed.]

§ 14. Supposing then the point of manners and godly life to be part of the substance of Christianity, it is evident that the Church always acknowledged a certain rule of faith, in that those who were thus prepared were always taught their

Ex iis quæ hactenus diximus, satis patet, quænam esset Missa Catechumenorum, quænam Missa Fidelium, quæ etiam Missa Sacramentorum dicebatur, qui Missa Catechumenorum terminus esset. Missam vero Fidelium appellatam esse Missam Sacramentorum, colligitur ex Ivone Carnotensi Ep. 75. ad Paschalem Pontificem, ubi suorum canonicorum pravam describens disciplinam ait: 'Qui adibat Missam Catechumenorum subterfugiebat Missam Sacramentorum.'—*Ib.*, 141. p. 193.

Et hæc quidem de Catechumenorum et competentium distinctione, eorumdemque solemni ab Ecclesia dimissione, clamante Diacono, ut Catechumeni recederent. Observatus fuit mos ille in Ecclesia Latina usque ad duodecimum sæculum, utpote cujus meminit libro de Divinis officiis cap. 34. Joannes Beleth, qui anno 1190 florebat. —Schelstrate, de Disciplina Arcani, cap. vi. p. 102. Patav. 1743. See Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 2.

[a] Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμὸν, φησὶν ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς, διδάσκειν ἔτι ταῦτα· διδασκάλου δὲ, εἰς τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων λόγων, χρῄζομεν· πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν βαδιστέον. καὶ δὴ ὥρα γε, ἐμοὶ μὲν, πεπαῦσθαι τῆς παιδαγωγίας· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ διδασκάλου. παραλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος ὑμᾶς, ὑπὸ καλῇ τετραμμένους ἀγώγῃ, ἐκδιδάξεται τὰ λόγια. εἰς καλὸν δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἥδε καὶ ὁ νύμφιος, ὁ μόνος διδάσκαλος,

. . . . . .

. . . . Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡμᾶς καταστήσας ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ παρακατάθετο, τῷ διδασκαλικῷ καὶ πανεπισκόπῳ λόγῳ, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα γενομένους, μισθὸν εὐχαριστίας δικαίας, κατάλληλον ἀστείου παιδαγωγίας αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι κυρίῳ—Lib. iii. cap. xii. pp. 309, 311. ed. Potter. Venet. 1757.

creed, that is, required to repeat it, and hear it expounded by those whom the Church trusted for that purpose. It is not my intent here to insist that the words of the creed were delivered by the Apostles themselves, or that the rule of baptism delivered by our Lord in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is not a sufficient symbol or cognizance for a Christian; for what is there necessary to the salvation of all Christians, that is not contained in the profession of him that desires to be baptized into this faith? But it is enough for my present purpose that it was always requisite, that whoso-
44 ever is baptized should be instructed upon what terms he is to expect to be saved by Christ, and that, which all were required to profess for that purpose, to be the rule of faith. For whether it may appear that this or that is of that nature must come to trial, though the question be only of the sense of the creed, supposing that the very words were delivered by the Apostles themselves.

[What it involves.]

§ 15. For example: it is not possible to render a reason of the coming of Christ, not mentioning the fall of Adam: nor of that, not mentioning the devil and his angels; nor of that, not mentioning the creation of Angels. The knowledge then requisite to save a Christian containeth the apostasy of the evil angels, whether it be in the creed or not, because neither the creed as it is, nor baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, can be understood to have any sense without supposing it. And therefore Irenæus i. 10.[t] could not deliver this rule without mentioning the devil and his angels, though I intend not thereupon to argue that it was contained in the words of the creed at that time. By St. Cyril's *Catecheses*[u] you shall understand that those who pretended to

[t] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, ...

Καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηται, τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδικοὺς, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· —Advers. Hæres., lib. i. cap. x. p. 48. ed. Ben.

[u] Πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν πίστιν παραδόσεως, ἣν ἀνακεφαλ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δογμάτων ἵνα μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν λεχθησομένων, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς ἀπάσης, λήθην ἐμποιήσῃ τῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀσφαλεστέρων διανοίᾳ.—Catech. iv. § 3. p. 52. ed. Ben.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς παραδοθείσης ὑμῖν εἰς ἐπαγγελίαν ἁγίας καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως ὅσας ἐγχωρεῖ κατηχήσεις, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν εἰρήκαμεν ἐν ταῖς διελθούσαις ταύταις τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέραις, ... ἐνεστώσης δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρας, καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐν Χριστῷ διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας ἀγάπης φωτιζομένης.—Catech. xviii. § 32. p. 300. ed. Ben.

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baptism at Easter were to be instructed in the sense and grounds of their creed during the Lent. And St. Augustine in his book *de Catechizandis Rudibus*[x], where he acquaints his friend that had written to him about something of that office, with the form that he was wont to use, instructs him to begin with the beginning of Genesis, and setting forth what course God had taken with mankind before and under the law, to bring down his discourse to the coming of Christ, and from thence to His second coming to judgment; which is to the very same purpose, only taking opportunity to mix the motives of faith which the Old Testament containeth, with the matter of faith which the New Testament requireth. Whatsoever then is said of the rule of faith in the writings of the Fathers is to be understood of the creed; whereof, though it be not maintained that the words which pretenders were required to render by heart were the same, yet the substance of it, and the reasons and grounds which make every point necessary to be believed, were always the same in all Churches, and remain unchangeable.

[How the matter of it is contained in the Scriptures.]

§ 16. I would not have any hereupon to think that the matter of this rule is not in my conceit contained in the Scriptures. For I find St. Cyril, *Catech.* v.[y], protesting that it contains nothing but that which concerned our salvation the most, selected out of the Scriptures. And therefore in other places he tenders his scholars evidence out of the Scriptures, and wishes them not to believe that whereof there is no such evidence. And to the same effect, Eucherius, *in Symb. Hom. I.*[z], Paschasius, *de Spiritu Sancto, in Præf.*[a], and after them

[x] Narratio plena est, cum quisque primo catechizatur ab eo quod scriptum est, 'In principio fecit Deus cœlum et terram,' usque ad præsentia tempora Ecclesiæ.—Cap. v. tom. vi. col. 265. ed. Ben.

[y] § 5. p. 78. ed. Ben. See the passage, cited in sect. 17. below.

[z] Sicut nonnullis scire permissum est, apud veteres Symbola vocabantur, quod de substantia collecti in unum sodales in medio conferebant ad solennes epulas, et ad cœnæ communes expensas: ita et Ecclesiarum patres de populorum salute soliciti ex diversis voluminibus Scripturarum collegerunt testimonia divinis gravida sacramentis: disponentes itaque ad animarum pastum salubre convivium, collegerunt verba brevia et certa, et expedita sententiis, sed diffusa mysteriis, et hoc symbolum nominaverunt.—In the name of Eusebius Gallicanus, Bibl. Patr. Maxim., tom. vi. p. 628. Lugduni apud Anissonios, 1677.

[a] Fides Catholica in universum mundum per patriarchas et prophetas, et gratiæ dispensatores, Spiritu Sancto, insinuante diffusa est. Hanc Apostolica sollicitudo atque perfectio, sicut per sanctas paginas dilataverat, ita per Symboli salutare mira brevitate collegit, et tanquam per diversas remediorum species disposuit in corpus unum. —Bibl. Maxim., tom. viii. p. 807. Lugduni apud Anissonios, 1677.

Thomas Aquinas, *secunda* ii^dæ *Quæst.* i. *Art.* ix.[b], all agree, that the form of the creed was made up out of the Scriptures, giving such reasons as no reasonable Christian can refuse. Not only because all they whose salvation is concerned have not leisure to study the Scriptures, but because they that have, cannot easily or safely discern wherein the substance of faith, upon the profession whereof our salvation depends, consisteth, supposing that they were able to discern between true and false in the meaning of the Scriptures.

§ 17. To which I will add only that which Tertullian[c] and others of the fathers observe of the ancient heretics, that their fashion was to take occasion upon one or two texts to overthrow and deny the main substance and scope of the whole Scriptures; which, whether it be seen in the sects of our time or not, I will not say here—because I will not take any thing for granted, which I have not yet principles to prove—but supposing it only a thing possible, I will think I give a sufficient reason why God should provide tradition as well as Scripture, to bound the sense of it; as St. Cyril also cautioneth in the place aforenamed, where he so liberally acknowledgeth the creed to be taken out of the Scripture; *οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔδοξεν ἀνθρώποις συνετέθη τὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς τὰ καιριώτατα συλλεχθέντα μίαν ἀναπληροῖ τὴν τῆς πίστεως διδασκαλίαν.* "For," saith he, "the faith was not framed as it pleased men, but the most substantial matters collected out of the Scripture do make up one doctrine of the faith." For, I beseech you, what had they, whosoever they were that first framed the creed, but tradition, whereby to distinguish that which is substantial from that which is not?

[b] Dicendum, quod veritas fidei in sacra Scriptura diffuse continetur, et variis modis, et in quibusdam obscure, ita quod ad eliciendum fidei veritatem ex sacra Scriptura requiritur longum studium et exercitium, ad quod non possunt pervenire omnes illi quibus necessarium est cognoscere fidei veritatem, quorum plerique aliis negotiis occupati, studio vacare non possunt, et ideo fuit necessarium, ut ex sententiis sacræ Scripturæ aliquid manifestum summarie colligeretur, quod proponeretur omnibus ... quidem non est sed potius ei —Tom. xi. p. 2. fol. 7. Romæ, 1570.

[c] Ista hæresis non recipit quasdam scripturas, et si quas recipit, adjectionibus et detrectationibus ad dispositionem instituti sui intervertit; et si recipit integras, et si aliquatenus integras præstat, nihilominus diversas expositiones commentata convertit. Tantum veritati obstrepit adulter sensus, quantum et corruptor stylus. Variæ præsumptiones necessario nolunt agnoscere ea, per quæ revincuntur; his nituntur quæ ex falso composuerunt, et quæ de ambiguitate cœperunt. —Præscript. adv. Hæres., cap. xvii. pp. 333, 334. ed. Pam. Rothomagi. 1662.

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§ 18. Hear Origen in the preface to his books περὶ ἀρχῶν. *Cum multi sint qui se putant sentire quæ Christi sunt, et non-* 45
nulli eorum diversa a prioribus sentiant, servetur vero Ecclesiastica prædicatio per successionis ordinem ab Apostolis tradita, et usque ad præsens in Ecclesiis permanens; illa sola credenda est veritas, quæ in nullo ab Ecclesiastica et Apostolica discordat traditione. Illud autem scire oportet, quoniam sancti Apostoli, fidem Christi prædicantes, de quibusdam quidem, quæcunque necessaria crediderunt, omnibus etiam his qui pigriores erga inquisitionem divinæ scientiæ videbantur, manifestissime tradiderunt; rationem scilicet assertionis eorum relinquentes ab his inquirendam, qui Spiritus dona excellentia mererentur, et præcipue sermonis, sapientiæ, et scientiæ gratiam per ipsum Spritum Sanctum percepissent; de aliis vero, dixerunt quidem quia, sint; quomodo autem, aut unde sint, siluerunt, profecto, ut studiosiores quique ex posteris suis, qui amatores essent sapientiæ, exercitium habere possent, in quo ingenii sui fructum ostenderent, hi videlicet, qui dignos se et capaces ad recipiendam sapientiam præpararent. Species vero eorum quæ per prædicationem Apostolicam manifeste traduntur, istæ sunt.

§ 19. "There being many that think their sense to be Christian, and yet the sense of some differs from their predecessors; but that which the Church preaches, as delivered by order of succession from the Apostles, being preserved and remaining the same in the Churches, that only is to be believed for truth, which nothing differs from the tradition of the Church. This notwithstanding we must know, that the holy Apostles, preaching the faith of Christ, delivered some things, as many as they held necessary, most manifestly to all believers, even those whom they found the duller in the search of divine knowledge; leaving the reason why they affirmed them to the search of those that got to receive the eminent gifts of the Holy Ghost, especially of utterance, wisdom, and knowledge by the Holy Ghost. Of other things they said that they are, but how, or wherefrom they are, they said not, forsooth, that the more studious of their successors, loving wisdom and knowledge, might have some exercise wherein to shew the fruit of their wit; to wit, those that should prepare themselves to be worthy and capable of wisdom. Now the particulars of that which is manifestly

delivered by the preaching of the Apostles, are these;" which he proceedeth to set down.

[Proof of its existence from the exclusion of heretics from the Church.]

§ 20. But Vincentius Lirinensis[d] hath written a discourse on purpose to shew that this rule of faith being delivered by succession to the principal, as St. Paul requires Timothy to do, and by them to those that were baptized, was the ground upon which all heresies attempting upon the faith, were condemned. So that so many heresies as historical truth will evidence to have been excluded the Church from the Apostles' time, for matter of belief, so many convictions of this rule, which because all agreed that they transgressed, therefore they were excluded the Church. But Vincentius[e], beside this, advanceth another mark to discern what belongs to the rule, that is, what the ground and scope of our creed requires. For it might be said, that perhaps something may come in question whether consistent with the rule of faith or not, in which there hath passed no decree of the primitive Church, because never questioned by that time; wherein therefore, we shall be to seek, notwithstanding the decrees passed by the Church upon ancient heresies. Which to meet with, Vincentius saith further, that whatsoever hath been unanimously taught in the Church by writing, that is, always, by all, every where, to that no contradiction is ever to be admitted in the Church.

[No contradiction of it allowed.]

§ 21. Here the style changes. For whereas Irenæus[f],

[d] Et illud Apostolicum, quo omnes omnium hæreseωn sceleratæ novitates velut quodam spirituali gladio sæpe truncatæ, semperque truncandæ sunt, *O Timothee depositum custodi*, &c.—Cap. xxi. p. 331. See also the passage cited above, in note n, chap. v. sect. 39.

[e] Quid igitur tunc faciet Christianus Catholicus, si se aliqua Ecclesiæ particula ab universalis fidei communione præciderit? Quid utique nisi ut pestifero corruptoque membro sanitatem universi corporis anteponat? Quid si novella aliqua contagio non jam portiunculam tantum sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item providebit, ut antiquitati inhæreat, quæ prorsum jam non potest ab ulla ...educi. Quid si in ip... rium homin... ut etiam Provinciæ alicujus error deprehendatur? Tunc omnino curabit, ut paucorum temeritati vel inscitiæ, si qua sunt, universaliter antiquitus universalis concilii decreta præponat. Quid si tale aliquid emergat, ubi nihil hujusmodi reperiatur? Tunc operam dabit, ut conlatas inter se majorum consulat interrogetque sententias, eorum duntaxat qui diversis licet temporibus et locis, in unius tamen Ecclesiæ Catholicæ communione et fide permanentes, magistri probabiles extiterunt, et quicquid non unus aut duo tantum, sed omnes pariter uno eodemque consensu aperte, frequenter, perseveranter tenuisse, scripsisse, docuisse cognoverit, id sibi quoque intelligat absque ulla dubitatione credendum.—Cap. iii. pp. 302, 303. Pedeponti, 1742.

[f] See Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 5.

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Tertullian[g], and others of former time, appeal only to that which was visible in the practice of all Churches; by the time of the council at Ephesus—the date of Vincentius's book—so much had been written upon all points of faith, and upon the Scriptures, that he presumeth evidence may be made of it all, what may stand with that which the whole Church had taught, what may not. I know this proposition satisfieth not now, because I know Vincentius proceedeth upon supposition that the Church was, and ought to be always, one body, in which that which agreeth with the faith might be taught, that which agreeth not might not; which is the question now in dispute. For upon other terms it had been madness in him to allege and maintain the council of Ephesus, condemning Nestorius as infringing the rule of faith, upon this presumption, because ten received doctors of the Church had formerly delivered the contrary of his doctrine[h].

[One ground of the authority of the fathers.]

§ 22. It is well enough known that there are many questions in which though there may be ten fathers alleged on one side, yet there may be more alleged on the other side. And it were a piteous case if Vincentius or I could tell you no wiser a way for the ending of controversies in religion, than by counting noses. The presumption lies in this, that the witnesses that depose being of such credit in the Church, 46

[g] See Prim. Govern., chap. iii. sect. 4, and Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 6.

[h] Item diximus in ipsa Ecclesiæ vetustate duo quædam vehementer studioseque observanda, quibus penitus inhærere deberent quicunque hæretici esse nollent; primum si quid esset antiquitus ab omnibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Sacerdotibus universalis concilii auctoritate decretum; deinde si qua nova exurgeret quæstio, ubi id minime reperiretur, recurrendum ad sanctorum Patrum sententias, eorum duntaxat qui suis quisque temporibus et locis in unitate communionis et fidei permanentes, Magistri probabiles extitissent, et quicquid uno sensu atque consensu tenuisse invenirentur, id Ecclesiæ verum et catholicum absque ullo scrupulo judicaretur. Quod ne præsumptione magis nostra quam auctoritate Ecclesiastica promere videremur, exemplum adhibuimus sancti concilii quod ante triennium ferme in Asia apud Ephesum celebratum est, vv.cc. Basso Antiochoque consulibus: ubi cum de sanciendis fidei regulis disceptaretur, ne qua illic forsitan prophana novitas in modum perfidiæ Ariminensis obreperet; universis sacerdotibus, qui illo ducenti fere numero convenerant, hoc catholicissimum, fidelissimum, atque optimum factu visum est, ut in medium sanctorum Patrum sententiæ proferrentur, quorum alios martyres, alios confessores, omnes vero Catholicos sacerdotes fuisse et permansisse constaret; ut scilicet rite atque solemniter ex eorum consensu atque decreto antiqui dogmatis religio confirmaretur et prophanæ novitatis blasphemia condemnaretur. Quod cum ita factum foret, jure meritoque impius ille Nestorius Catholicæ vetustati contrarius, beatus vero Cyrillus sacrosanctæ antiquitati consentaneus judicatus est.—Cap. xxix. pp. 348, 349. Pedeponti, 1752.

as the quality which they bear in it presupposeth, it cannot reasonably be imagined that they could teach that for truth which is inconsistent with Christianity, but they must be contradicted in it, and their quality and degree in the Church questioned upon it. And that—the Church having been always one and the same body from Christ—whosoever should undertake to teach that for the Christian faith which from the beginning had been counted false, he would have been questioned for contradicting that profession which qualified him for that rank which he held in the Church. It is the case of Nestorius, who, venting his heresy in the Church, gave the people occasion to check at it, and the council of Ephesus to condemn it.

§ 23. Now Vincentius's discourse[1] presupposeth that the doctrine of those ten whom he allegeth had not been contradicted. A thing which must needs be presupposed by him that supposed[k] the great council of Nicæa had decreed no more than that which had always been taught in the Church. For it is plain, that without questioning the faith settled at Nicæa, there is no room for the opinion of Nestorius. But otherwise, should ten of that quality which he allegeth be so considerably contradicted that it must be presumed their doctrine was suffered to pass, not as not taken notice of, but as not contradicting the common profession of Christians, it will appear a presumption that neither part is of

[1] Sunt ergo hi viri quorum in illo concilio vel tanquam judicum, vel tanquam testium scripta recitata sunt. .... Hi sunt igitur omnes apud Ephesum Sacrato decalogi numero magistri, consiliarii testes, judicesque producti: quorum beata illa synodus doctrinam tenens, consilium sequens, credens testimonio, obediens judicio, absque tædio, præsumptione, et gratia de fidei regulis pronuntiavit. Quanquam multo amplior majorum numerus adhiberi potuerit, sed necesse non fuit; quia neque multitudine testium negotii tempora occupari oportebat, et decem illos non aliud vere sensisse quam cæteros omnes collegas suos nemo dubitabat. —Cap. xxx. pp. 349, 350. Pedeponti, 1742.

[k] Christi vero Ecclesia, sedula et cauta depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, nihil in his unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit, non amputat necessaria, non apponit superflua, non amittit sua, non usurpat aliena, ... Denique quid unquam aliud conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur, quod antea lentius prædicabatur, hoc idem postea instantius prædicaretur, quod antea securius colebatur, hoc idem postea solicitius excoleretur? Hoc inquam semper, neque quicquam præterea, hæreticorum novitatibus excitata, conciliorum suorum decretis Catholica perfecit Ecclesia, nisi ut quod prius a majoribus sola traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per Scripturæ chirographum consignaret, magnam rerum summam paucis litteris comprehendendo, et plerumque, propter intelligentiæ lucem, non novum fidei sensum novæ appellationis proprietate signando.—Cap. xxiii. p. 336, 337. Pedeponti, 1752.

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the substance of faith, but both allowed to be taught in the Church. And if it appear further that the fewer in number, and the less in rank and quality in the Church, hold that which dependeth more necessarily upon the rule of faith, which containeth the substance of the Scriptures, it will be no way prejudicial to the unity and authority of the Church, as a corporation founded by God, that a private man as I am should conclude it for truth against the greater authority, in matters depending upon the foundation of the Church.

That the profession of Christianity, and that by being baptized, is necessary to the salvation of a Christian.

§ 24. If it be said that this evidence supposeth the necessity of baptism to the making of a Christian, which not only the Leviathan is far from granting, who professeth himself bound to renounce Christ at the command of his sovereign[1]; but the Socinians also[m], and some of our sectaries[n], hold indifferent to salvation, whether baptized or not; I answer, that the question here is, not what belongs, or belongs not, to the rule of faith and Christian conversation, necessary to the sal-

[1] See chap. ii. sect. 10. note l.

[m] Ex iis quæ diximus patere arbitramur, non omnes qui Christiani esse velint, imo inter nos nullum isto Apostolorum baptismo obligari. Cum enim ut demonstratum est, ii, qui Christi nomen jam antea sunt professi, baptismate isto non teneantur; cumque a multis sæculis inter omnes harum terrarum populos nonnisi Christiana disciplina vigeat, ita ut primis pueritiæ annis semper Christi nomen professi fuerimus; nonne propter hoc ipsum baptismus iste inter nos omitti prorsus posset? Quid, quod nec illos, qui antea vel nulla, vel certe non Christiana religione devincti fuere, omni ex parte is Apostolorum baptismus obstringit, propterea quod nequaquam res est universe et in perpetuum a Christo ejusve Apostolis mandata. Unde colligitur, ejus prætermissionem nequaquam ex eorum numero esse, quæ sempiternam salutem adimunt. Id quod magis etiam ex iis patet, quæ supra de iis a nobis dicta sunt, qui baptismo aquæ, quo Christo initiarentur, destituti, solo Spiritus Sancti baptismo perfusi fuere. Quos quidem in eorum numero esse, qui ad sempiternam felicitatem sunt designati, nemo sanus negabit.—Volkel. de Vera Relig., lib. vi. cap. xiv. coll. 673, 674. See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 67.

[n] "There is also a twofold outward water baptism mentioned.

"1. John's water baptism, ...

"The second outward water baptism was that which Christ Himself instituted, and committed to His disciples in His lifetime . . . . .

"Both these administrations had their known administrators, and were dispensations proper to that season they were ordained in, to prepare the minds of people to receive Christ in His first appearance, ...

"The two water baptisms have served their season, and are gone off the stage.

"The single baptism of gifts, or first baptism of the Holy Ghost, hath been of late somewhat remarkable amongst us, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire is hastening upon us, as a general dispensation, wherein the vision of God will be so plain that he that runs may read it.

"The declining of the two water baptisms deprives not the saints of these times of the true use of that ordinance, which is kept up in the third, and comprehends all that is now useful in the other two, in a more heavenly and spiritual way, leading us yet forward to the end they all aim at, which is the very thing itself, contained in the fourth and last baptism, that of fire."—Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, pp. 47, 48. London, 1662.

vation of all Christians, but whether there be any such rule or not. That the original and universal custom of catechizing all Christians evidenceth such a rule, by the consent of all Christians, as you have seen it evidenced[o] by the frequent mention thereof in Scriptures: that therefore it stands recommended to us by the same means, and upon the same grounds, for which we receive the holy Scriptures: and that, though when the world was come into the Church, and many more were baptized infants than afore, it cannot be said that this order of catechizing was so substantially performed as afore; yet the matter and theme of it remaining in the tradition of the creed, and the sense of it in the writings of the fathers and the decrees of the Church against heretics, it remains still visible what belongs to it, what not, as I shall make appear in that which is questioned within the subject of this book.

[It is necessary for salvation to believe more than that Jesus is the Christ.]

§ 25. Only this is the place where I am to allege against the Leviathan, why the profession of Christianity is necessary to the salvation of all Christians: whereupon it will follow without further proof, that it is necessary to salvation to believe more than that Jesus is the Christ; to wit, whatsoever this rule of Christianity containeth, the profession whereof is requisite to Christianity. Hear our Lord, Matt. x. 32, 33; Luke xii. 8, 9: "And whosoever shall acknowledge Me before men, him will I acknowledge before My Father which is is heaven. Whosoever shall renounce Me before men, him will I renounce before My Father which is in heaven." And St. Paul, Rom. x. 9, 10: "If thou confess with thy mouth
47 that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart a man believes to righteousness, and with the mouth he professeth to salvation." And 2 Tim. ii. 12: "If we deny Him, He will deny us." Our Lord's commission to His Apostles is, Matt. xxviii. 19, "Go make disciples all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

§ 26. Who are then Christ's disciples? That we may know what the Apostles are to make them whom they make Christ's disciples. "Ye are My disciples," saith our Lord, [John viii. 31.] "if ye continue in My word." And John

[o] See sect. 6.

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xv. 8: "Herein is My Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit: and ye shall be My disciples." And Luke xiv. 26, 27: "Whoso cometh to Me, and hateth not father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yea and himself, cannot be My disciple. And whoso taketh not up his cross and followeth Me, cannot be My disciple." To the same purpose, Matt. x. 38; xvi. 24; Mark viii. 34; x. 21; Luke ix. 23. And St. Paul plainly declareth the Galatians fallen from all benefit of the Gospel, if, to avoid the cross of Christ, they should balk the profession of their Christianity to be circumcised, Gal. v. 11; vi. 12, 14. St. John charges the Churches of Pergamus and Thyatira, Apoc. ii. 14, 15, 20, to have some that "hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to lay a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, of things offered to idols and whoredom:" which is the doctrine of the Nicolaitans. And "to suffer the woman Jezebel calling herself a prophetess, to teach and lead the servants of God into the error of whoredom, and eating things sacrificed to idols."

[The Gnostics.]

§ 27. St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 15, and St. Jude 11, charge the Gnostics, whom they write against in those places, that they go the way of Balaam, that brought the Israelites to join with Baal-Peor, taking the invitation of their mistresses to the sacrifices of their idols; whom Irenæus[p], Justin the Martyr[q], Origen[r], Clemens Alexandrinus[s] and Tertullian[t] witness, to

[p] Animæ autem solæ esse salutem: corpus enim natura corruptibile existit. Prophetias autem et ipsas a mundi fabricatoribus fuisse ait principibus, proprie autem legem a principe ipsorum, qui eduxerit populum de terra Ægypti. Contemnere autem et idolothyta, et nihil arbitrari, sed sine aliqua trepidatione uti eis; habere autem et reliquarum operationum usum indifferentem et universæ libidinis.—Advers. Hæres., lib. i. cap. xxiv. § 5. pp. 101, 102. ed. Ben.

[q] Τοὺς γὰρ λεγομένους μὲν χριστιανοὺς, ὄντας δὲ ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς αἱρεσιώτας, ὅτι κατὰ πάντα βλάσφημα καὶ ἄθεα καὶ ἀνόητα διδάσκουσιν, ἐδήλωσά σοι.—Dial. cum Tryph. Jud., cap. lxxx. p. 177. ed. Ben.

[r] Σίμων τε ὁ Σαμαρεὺς μάγος, καὶ Δοσίθεος, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνων· ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἔφασκεν αὐτὸν εἶναι δύναμιν Θεοῦ, τὴν καλουμένην μεγάλην· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης Σιμωνιανοί· καί τοι γε ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλείονας ὑπαγαγέσθαι ὁ Σίμων τὸν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου κίνδυνον, ὃν χριστιανοὶ αἱρεῖσθαι ἐδιδάχθησαν, περιεῖλε τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐναδιαφορεῖν αὐτοὺς διδάξας πρὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Σιμωνιανοὶ ἐπεβουλεύθησαν. ᾔδει γὰρ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων δαίμων πονηρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ, οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδίων παραλυθησόμενον βούλημα ἐκ τῶν Σίμωνος μαθητῶν.—Contr. Celsum, lib. vi. § 11. tom. i. p. 638. ed. Ben.

[s] Τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Προδίκου, ψευδωνύμως Γνωστικοὺς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες, δογματίζουσιν· υἱοὺς μὲν φύσει τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς· καταχρώμενοι δὲ τῇ εὐγενείᾳ, καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ, ζῶσιν ὡς βούλονται· βούλονται δὲ φιληδόνως.—Strom., lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 525. Venet. 1757.

[t] Quod si jam tunc Prodicus aut Valentinus assisteret suggerens; non

have made the outward act of idolatry, in eating things sacrificed to idols, an indifferent thing, that they might avoid persecution, by complying with the Gentiles in that, as with the Jews in being circumcised. And now after sixteen hundred years, we are told that all that ever suffered for Christianity since the Apostles—who were to witness what they saw our Lord do, and heard Him say—were mutinous fools, in laying down their lives to testify that which they were not obliged to witness, or rather, which they were obliged not to witness, the secular power requiring them not to witness it. We have found one that calls himself a Christian[u], wiser than our Lord and His Apostles—as they called themselves Gnostics, because they pretended to know more than the Apostles—that can tell Christians a way to escape the cross of Christ by renouncing Christianity, and not fail of the promises thereof, by believing the truth of it.

§ 28. But they were the disciples of Simon Magus and not of Christ that did so, nor did they expect salvation by the Christianity which they counterfeited, but by that secret knowledge, which they pretended to have discovered, beyond that which all Christians had learned from the Apostles; though they went for Christians among the Gentiles, who knew not what Christians were, so that the name of God was blasphemed because of them, as the Apostle saith, 2 Pet. ii. 2, because their monstrous abominations were thought to be the practices of Christians. Whether any man besides, before this new dogmatist, pretending to be a Christian, professed a freedom to renounce Christ in any case, I am yet to learn. Sure I am, the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes died freely rather than eat swines' flesh[x], or give any occasion to think that they fell from their law, and from God that gave it, as the prophet Daniel and his fellows had left them example to do. And therefore by the same means, and upon the same

in terris esse confitendum apud homines, quod nec Deus humanum sanguinem sitiat, nec Christus vicem passionis, quasi et ipse de ea salutem consecuturus exposcat.—Scorpiac. adv. Gnosticos, cap. xv. p. 833. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[u] Hobbes. See the passages quoted in chap. [illegible] note l.

[x] "Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing.

"Wherefore they chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died.

"And there was very great wrath upon Israel."—1 Maccab. i. 62—64.

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grounds, for which we receive our Christianity, it stands evidenced to us, that we are bound to profess it; that is to say, by the Scriptures, and the consent of all Christians that receive the Scriptures.

For the canons of the Church.

§ 29. As for traditions regulating the order to be observed in the communion of the Church, there is so little question to be made of the consent of all Church writers, that it shall serve my turn, to produce the noted words of Tertullian, *de Corona Militis*, cap. iii.: *Plane negabimus* [*traditionem*] *recipiendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum,* 48 *quas, sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento, solius traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus. Denique, ut a baptismate ingrediar; aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in Ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus; dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes, quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus. Exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus. Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate, a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis, aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram, anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus.*

§ 30. "Plainly we must deny to receive this tradition, if there be no examples of other observations for a prejudice, which without any instrument in writing, the only title of tradition and plea of custom from it, maintaineth. In fine, to begin with baptism; going into the water, not only there, but somewhat afore, in the Church, under the hand of our president, we take witness, that we renounce the devil, his pomp and angels. Then we are drenched thrice, answering somewhat more than our Lord in the Gospel hath limited. Being taken up from thence, we foretaste a mixture of milk and honey. And from that day, we forbear our daily bathing

all the week. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, which our Lord commanded at the time of meat, and to all, we take also at our assemblies before day, but at no man's hand but our president's. We offer for those that die, and again upon the anniversary of their death. We count it unlawful to fast, or worship kneeling upon the Lord's day. The same privilege we enjoy from Easter to Whitsuntide. We are troubled to have any thing, even of our ordinary cup or bread, scattered upon the earth. At all going forth or advancing, at all coming in and going out, at putting on clothes or shoes, at washing, at sitting down to table, at bringing in light, whatsoever conversation we exercise, we rub our foreheads with the sign of the cross."

[An objection to the authority of Tertullian.]

§ 31. I must here take notice of an exception to this authority of Tertullian, that he was a Montanist[y], or inclining to the Montanists, when he wrote it; and marvel, that prejudice in religion should transport learned Christians so far, as to deny the records of the Church that credit, which common sense allows all records of historical truth, and which all learning allows the writings of Mahometans, Jews and Pagans. And this consideration I interpose the rather here, to prevent the objection that may be made, that I ground myself upon the authority of men, when I allege the testimonies of Church writers.

§ 32. For those that may abuse themselves with such a fond imagination as this, are to consider, that I claim as yet no other credit, not only for Tertullian—who after he turned Montanist, was not of the Church—but for the fathers of the Church, but that which common sense allows men of common sense, in witnessing matters of historical truth. To wit, that

[y] Inter quos adversarius primo profert Tertullianum in libr. *de Coron. Militis:* quo in libro magnopere pro traditionibus pugnat, *Harum*, inquit, *et hujusmodi disciplinarum traditio auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, &c.* Respondeo, primo, Tertullianum fuisse Montanistam, quando hunc librum scripsit, Facit enim mentionem novarum prophetiarum, quarum Montanum inventorem fuisse dubium non est. Fuit vero Montanus multarum traditionum author, quæ postea exoterant. Dixit se habere illum Paracletum quem promisit Christus; et fretus hujus Paracleti authoritate multa ἄγραφα in Ecclesiam invexit. Impius hic Montanus Tertullianum ipsum fefellit, cujus viri jacturam casumque merito lugere possumus. Illo enim tempore nullus doctior, nullus sanctior, nullus pro fidei Christianæ defensione vehementior fuit Tertulliano. Sed hæresis illa Montani omnem Tertulliano fidem detraxit.—Whitaker. de Sacr. Scrip. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xii. p. 392. Genevæ, 1610.

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they who published writings that are come to posterity, would not have alleged things for true, which every man might see to be false, in point of fact; because, by so doing, common sense must needs tell them, that they must of necessity utterly discredit the cause which they meant to promote: as in the case in hand. If we say that Tertullian, being a Montanist, alleged against the Church things so notoriously false, that all the world might see and know them to be false, we refuse him the credit of a man in his right senses. For what were he but a madman, that would tell the Church that such or such customs, you know, are practised among Christians, knowing that they were not practised by the Catholic Church, though they might be among Montanists? Therefore, though I put a great deal of difference between the authority of Tertullian and St. Basil in regulating the Church, yet in witnessing matter of fact, I can ascribe no more to St. Basil's testimony, in his book *de Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xxvii.[z], than I do to this of Tertullian.

§ 33. His words are these. *Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμέ-* 49
νων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδα-σκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως δια-δοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεδεξάμεθα, ἅπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν· καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, οὐκοῦν ὅστις γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπεί-ραται. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν, ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λάθοιμεν ἂν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια ζημιοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιϊστῶντες τὸ κήρυγμα. οἷον, ἵνα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κοινο-τάτου πρῶτον μνησθῶ, τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠλπικότας κατασημαίνεσθαι, τίς ὁ διὰ γράμματος διδάξας; τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, ποῖον ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς γράμμα; τὰ τῆς ἐπικλή-σεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν κατα-λέλοιπεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα ὧν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη· ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχὺν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες, εὐλογοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τό τε ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, καὶ π

[z] Tom. iii. pp. 54, 55. ed. Ben.

αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, ἀπὸ ποίων ἐγγράφων; οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς σιωπωμένης καὶ μυστικῆς παραδόσεως; τί δὲ αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν χρίσιν, τίς λόγος γεγραμμένος ἐδίδαξε; τὸ δὲ τρὶς βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόθεν; ἄλλα δὲ ὅσα περὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας ἐστὶ γραφῆς; οὐκ ἐκ ἀδημοσιεύτου ταύτης καὶ ἀπορρήτου διδασκαλίας.

§ 34. "Of things decreed and preached that are kept in the Church, some we have from written doctrine, some we have received as delivered in secret down to us from the tradition of the Apostles, both of the same force to godliness. And this will no man contradict that hath but a little experience in the rules of the Church. For if we go about to refuse unwritten customs as of no great effect, we shall unawares wound the Gospel in the dangerous part, or rather turn the faith preached into a bare name. As first to mention the first and commonest; Who taught us by writing, to mark with the figure of the cross those that have hoped in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ? What scripture taught us to turn to the east when we pray? Which of the saints left us by writing the words of invocation, upon discovering the bread of thanksgiving and the cup of blessing? For we are not content with those which the Apostle or the Gospel mentions, but promote and infer others as of great force toward the Sacrament, which we have received by unwritten doctrine? We also bless the water of baptism, and the oil of anointing, and besides, the man himself that is baptized, from what scripture? Is it not from silent and secret tradition? And indeed what written word taught the very anointing of oil? And that a man is drenched thrice, whence comes it? And other things about baptism, renouncing Satan and his angels, from what scripture come they? Is it not from this unpublished and secret doctrine?"

§ 35. I will not here dispute the saying of St. Basil, that these orders are of the same force toward Christian piety as the Scriptures; and that Christianity would be but a bare name were it not for these unwritten customs; how the truth of it holds. Nay, it were easy to instance against him as well
'nst Tertullian, that among the particulars which they
're are those which never were in force through the

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whole Church, but only in some parts of it. My present purpose demands only this, that Christians had rules which they observed for laws in the exercise of their communion, and therefore, by the intent of those who enforced those rules, do constitute a society or corporation by the name of the Church[a]. Which corporation, Tertullian, whether a Montanist or not when he wrote the book which I quote, claimeth to belong to in reckoning himself among those that observed the rules of the Catholic Church.

§ 36. If we suppose the Church to be one body, consisting of all Churches, which are all of them several bodies, it will be not only reasonable, but absolutely necessary by consequence to grant, that some orders there must be, which shall have the force of the whole, others only in some parts of it. And though St. Basil or Tertullian mistake local customs for general, yet had there not always been a body, capable of being tied by general customs, there had been no room for this mistake.

[Of the Apostolical canons.]

§ 37. No prejudice shall hinder me to name here the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles[b]; not as if I meant

[a] Barrow sums up the argument here, and in chap. vi. sect. 9. thus, and then replies:—"God hath granted to the Church certain powers and rights, as *jura majestatis*; namely, the power of the keys—to admit into, to exclude from, the kingdom of heaven—a power to enact laws—for maintenance of its order and peace, for its edification and welfare—a power to correct and excommunicate offenders; a power to hold assemblies for God's service, a power to ordain governors and pastors."

"Ans. 1. These powers are granted to the Church, because granted to each particular Church, or distinct society of Christians; not to the whole, as such, or distinct from the parts.

"Ans. 2. It is evident, that by virtue of such grants, particular Churches do exercise those powers; and it is impossible to infer more from them than a justification of their practice.

"Ans. 3. St. Cyprian often from that common grant doth infer the right of exercising discipline in each particular Church, which inference would not be good, but upon our supposition; nor indeed otherwise would any particular Church have ground for its authority.

"Ans. 4. God hath granted the like rights to all princes and states, but doth it thence follow that all kingdoms and states must be united in one single regiment? The consequence is just the same as in our case."—Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 676, 677. Oxford, 1830.

[b] Antiquissima, cujus mentio fit in Ecclesiasticis monumentis, est collectio Canonum Apostolorum, quos Græci numerant octuaginta quinque, Latini tantum quinquaginta. Prodiit hæc collectio una cum libris octo Apostolicarum Constitutionum nomine Clementis Romani Pontificis, ac fuerunt, qui eas regulas Apostolis tribuendas putarent. Sed cum earum nulla sit mentio apud illos, qui tribus prioribus sæculis res Ecclesiæ scriptis illustrarunt; cum in iis multa sint, quæ cum Apostolorum ætate componi nulla ratione possunt, et quædam etiam, quæ Ecclesiæ doctrinæ adversantur; cum demum viri fuerint doctrina, et auctoritate graves, qui eos apocryphos judicarent; certum omnibus, exploratumque est, eos Apostolis adscribi non posse. Unum autem in corpus col-

50 to maintain that the writings so called were indeed penned by them, but because they contain such limitations of customs delivered the Church by the Apostles, as were received and in use at such times and in such parts of the Church where those who penned those writings wrote. For though I should grant that those limitations are not agreeable to that which was brought in by the Apostles, no man would be so ridiculous as to demand that there were never any orders or customs delivered the Church by the Apostles, which succeeding times did limit otherwise.

[Of collections of canons.]

§ 38. The book of canons which was acknowledged by the representatives of the whole Church, in the council of Chalcedon[c], if it be surveyed, shall be found to contain only particular limitations of general orders held by the Church, before those canons were made by the several councils, either the same with those in the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles, or differing only according to several times and places. For we have yet extant a book of canons made out of the African councils[d], containing the like limitations of the same customs and orders, which though not the same, yet served to preserve the Churches of Africa in unity with the rest of the Church. This code we find added to the former by Dionysius Exiguus[e], in his translation of the canons,

lecti videntur tertio, aut forte etiam quarto, Ecclesiæ sæculo potissimum diversis ex synodis, atque ex ea disciplina, et legibus, quibus per tria priora sæcula Orientales Ecclesiæ regebantur.—Devoti, Inst. Can., tom. i. cap. iv. § 53. pp. 48, 49. Romæ, 1825.

[c] Proximum post canones Apostolorum locum obtinet collectio, cujus in concilio Chalcedonensi mentio est. Non satis exploratum est, quibus canonibus ea collectio constaret, et forte initio tantum comprehendit canones Nicænos, Ancyranos, Neocæsarienses, atque Gangrenses, licet postea canones etiam aliarum synodorum adjuncti fuerint. Nam primum accesserunt canones Antiocheni, tum in aliquo codice Chalcedonenses, et Constantinopolitani, in aliquo Laodiceni, Constantinopolitani, et Chalcedonenses. Non enim omnium codicum eadem ratio, cum non una mens eorum tiones illas in primo codice arbitrio et voluntate sua.—54. pp. 51, 52.

[d] Africanorum canonum collectionem, cum titulo 'Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ,' græce et latine edidit Christophorus Justellus, eamque postea descripserunt ejus filius Henricus, et Gulielmus Voellus in Bibliotheca Jur. Canon., tom. i. p. 321. Verum hæc collectio non alios comprehendit canones, quam eos, quos Dionysius Exiguus excerpsit ex synodo Carthaginiensi anni 419, cujus tantum gesta ante oculos habuit.—Devoti, ib. § 62. not. i. p. 63.

[e] Primo canonum collectioni Dionysius operam dedit. Nam novam Græcorum canonum versionem absolvit, suaque collectione complexus est quinquaginta canones Apostolorum, tum sub una numerorum serie canones Nicænos, Ancyranos, Neocæsarienses, Gangrenses, Antiochenos, Laodicænos, Constantinopolitanos, deinde Chalcedonenses, quibus ex Latino authographo subjecti sunt Sardicenses xxi. ac tandem Africani distincti in numero cxxxviii. Pars altera quæ

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together with the canons of the council at Sardica. And Cassiodore, *Divin. Lect.* cap. xxiii.[f], who lived the same time with Dionysius, affirms that this collection was in use in the Church of Rome at that time.

§ 39. But there is extant a later collection of canons[g], under the title of the Church of Rome, consisting of the same canons, together with some of the rescripts of Popes, which were come into use and authority in the Western Church, at such time as the said collection was made. Of the same canons consisteth another Greek collection, printed by du Tillet[h], and commented by Balsamon, which addeth hereunto the canons of the sixth and seventh synod in use in the Greek Church, but not acknowledged by the Latin. Where, instead thereof, the collections of Martinus Bracarensis[i], and Isido-

serius in lucem venit, comprehendit epistolas decretales summorum Pontificum a Siricio usque ad Anastasium II., quibus postea decretales etiam aliorum Pontificum aliena opera accesserunt. Magna hujus collectionis celebritas, et magnus ubique honos fuit. —Devoti, ib. § 60. p. 61.

[f] Qui petitus a Stephano Episcopo Solonitano, ex Græcis exemplaribus canones ecclesiasticos moribus suis, ut erat planus atque disertus, magnæ eloquentiæ luce composuit, quos hodie usu celeberrimo Ecclesia Romana complectitur.—Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum, tom. xi. p. 1282. Lugdun. apud Anisson. 1677.

[g] Eam quibusdam additionibus locupletatam Carolo M. Francorum Regi Romæ tradidit Hadrianus I. summus Pontifex, atque hæc collectio est, quæ *Hadriana* vocatur, et quam illæ præsertim additiones a Dionysiana distinguunt. Non tamen hujus collectionis, sive harum additionum auctor, ipse Hadrianus habendus est; sed cum ita summus Pontifex collectionem ipsam probasse visus fuerit Apostolicam quandam auctoritatem ea obtinuit, et *Codex Canonum* passim appellari cœpit. —Devoti, ib. § 61. pp. 61, 62.

[h] Joannes Tilius ex codice Bibliothecæ Canonicorum S. Hilarii Pictaviensis memoratorum conciliorum canones græce vulgavit Parisiis anno 1540. Alterumque tomum edere cogitabat, quo Græcorum Patrum canonicæ epistolæ proferrentur. Hanc vero integram Græcam collectionem legere est in celebri Oxoniensi editione Guilielmi Beveregii anni 1672, cui præterea Zonaræ et Balsamonis scholia inseruit.—Fratres Ballerin. in append. ad Opp. S. Leonis M. tom. iii. par. i. cap. ii. § 9. p. xv. Venet. 1757.

[i] Erat Martinus natione Pannonus, professione monachus Ord. S. Bened. monasterii Dumiensis conditor, et primus Abbas, postea ejusdem loci Episcopus, ac demum Ecclesiæ Bracarensis in Hispania Archiepiscopus, vir linguæ Græcæ peritissimus, quippe qui Orientem magna ex parte peragravit, inde et in Hispaniam venit, ubi Suevos, qui Gallæciam invaserant ad fidem convertit, eisque regulas recte vivendi tradidit. Hic cum versionem antiquam canonum Orientalium parum accuratam cerneret, novam collectionem majori cum industria adornavit, eamque ad Episcopos concilii Lucensis transmisit. Bipartitum est opus ejus: Prima pars continet canones, qui de personis rebus et ritibus ecclesiasticis agunt: altera, res ad laicos pertinentes complectitur. Pleraque quidem ex Græco transtulit; aliqua tamen immiscuit ex conciliis Occidentalibus, Africanis, item Hispanicis, veluti Toletano 1. et Bracarensibus ubi erat Episcopus. Constat universa hæc collectio capitibus 84. vel 85. eo ordine digestis, ut priores 68. ad Episcopos et clericos; reliqui ad laicos pertineant.—Zallwein, Princip. Jur. Eccles., tom. ii. quæst. 1. cap. iv. § 9. pp. 223, 224. Aug. Vindel. 1763.

rus Mercator[k], of Burchardus[l] Bishop of Worms, and Ivo[m] of Chartres: where, last of all, the collection of Gratian[n] the

[k] Digna tamen est quæ paulo diligentius exponatur collectio Isidori Mercatoris, aut Peccatoris, quæ nono Ecclesiæ sæculo in manus hominum pervenit. Magnæ ob eam turbæ ortæ sunt, cum Isidorus veris monumentis, quæ a collectione Hispanica, Hadriana, aliisque a locis arripuit, multa falsa admiscuerit, quorum partem ipse confinxit, et partem aliorum ingenio confictam literis consignavit. Habet hæc collectio, præter quinquaginta canones Apostolorum, ex Hadriana collectione descriptos, potissimum epistolas summorum Pontificum a Clemente usque ad Silvestrum, quæ cunctæ ex ingenio Isidori prodierunt, exceptis duabus Clementis ad Jacobum litteris, tum canones plurimum conciliorum, postremo Pontificias literas ab ipso Silvestro usque ad Gregorium M, et alias item epistolas, ac monumenta, quorum pars aliunde sumpta vera, ac germana est, pars una cum actis concilii Romani sub Julio I., et concilii v. et vi. sub Symmacho ab Isidoro excogitata et inventa est.—Devoti, ib. § 64. p. 66.

[l] Methodum Rheginonis secutus Burchardus Wormatiensis Episcopus, ipso sæculi xi. initio canonum collectionem dedit, qua omnem disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ materiam xx. libris complexus est, eumque in finem singulos libros in plura capita distribuit. Fragmenta, e quibus hæc constat, suppeditarunt S. Scriptura: canones conciliorum; decreta Pontificum persæpe spuria, opera Patrum, et regum Francorum capitularia, suppresso tamen regum nomine. Fontes ipsos non consuluit, anteriorum collectorum fidem secutus. Quam plurima ex Rheginone decerpsit, quo facto errata ejus omnia sua fecit. Opus hoc Magnum Decretorum seu Canonum Volumen appellari consuevit, de cujus auctoritate per Galliam et Germaniam nihil certi statui potest. Burchardum Galli, et Itali Brochardum dixerunt, unde ejus sententiæ Brochardica appellantur.—Pehem. Prælect. in Jus Eccles., tom. i. § 1003. p. 694. Viennæ, 1785.

[m] Reginonem et Burchardum presso pede sequitur Ivo, ante canonicus, postea Episcopus Carnotensis, qui suam ecclesiam ab anno 1090, vel 1092, rexit ad annum usque 1115, vel 1117. Duplex sub ejus nomine extat collectio Canonum, una quæ vulgo dicitur Decretum Divi Ivonis Episcopi Carnotensis, quam tamen ipse Ivo inscripsit in prologo sui operis: Excerptiones Ecclesiasticarum Regularum. Atque hanc collectionem esse genuinum illius fœtum, nemo quantum saltem nobis constat, hactenus dubitavit. Opus istud est divisum in 17 partes. . . . . Duo sunt singularia in hac collectione quæ non reperiuntur in Burchardiana, quorum primum est, quod Ivo in parte secunda sui Decreti plures conciliorum et sanctorum Patrum doctrinas ad hæresim Berengarianam per Ecclesiam tunc grassantem confutandam, et ad confirmationem dogmatis Catholici pro reali præsentia Christi collegerit. Alterum est, quod ipse primus fuerit, qui jus civile cum jure canonico conjunxit: quamvis enim Regino multa ex codice Theodosiano suæ collectioni inseruerit, nemo tamen anteriorum collectorum in occidente jus Justinaneum cum jure ecclesiastico permiscuisse legitur. . . . . .

Altera, quæ inscribitur collectio Ivonis vocatur Pannormia: sed non convenit inter scriptores, quisnam illius sit author.—Zallwein, Princip. Jur. Eccles., tom. ii. quæst. i. cap. v. § 12. pp. 262, 263. August. Vindel. 1763.

[n] Transgredimur nunc ad recentiores juris canonici collectiones; et primum quidem occurrit Gratianus Monachus Benedictinus Clusii natus, qui medio sæculo xii. scripsit *Concordantium discordantium Canonum*, quam nunc *Decretum* vocamus. Tota hæc collectio conflata est ex locis S. Scripturæ, ex canonibus quinquaginta Apostolorum, ex conciliis generalibus, ac particularibus, ex decretalibus summorum Pontificum, ex operibus Patrum, scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum, ex libris juris civilis Romanorum, capitularibus regum Francorum, et rescriptis aliquot imperatorum, denique ex historia Ecclesiastica, gestisque summorum Pontificum plerumque desumptis ex libro diurno, atque ex ordine Romano.—Devoti, Inst. Jur. Can., tom. i. cap. vi. § 73. p. 80.

De auctoritate Decreti sic habendum est; omnia quæ in eo referuntur, vim eandem habere ac si seorsim a Decreto spectentur. Itaque loca S. Scripturæ, decreta summorum Pontificu

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Dominican monk was in use, till the rescripts of the Pope took place°, and excluded the canons of the whole Church. The succession of which law is so visible, that he that may say that the order presently in force can no way agree with that which was established by the Apostles, shall not have the face to affirm that there never was any order established by the Apostles instead of it, so visible shall the impressions be of that corruption by which it declines from the order first established by the Apostles.

And the pedigree of them from the orders established in the Church by the Apostles.

§ 40. And therefore I allege here in the last place, the consent of those of the reformation, who in answering this objection—when it is argued that therefore tradition is necessary as well as Scripture—do not deny that there was a rule of faith, that there were orders delivered the Church by the Apostles, to preserve the unity of the Church. But to answer for themselves, why they stand not to the present Church of Rome in them, do allege that the rule of faith delivered the

ralium conciliorum, quam sua indole et natura vim habent, eandem in Decreto retinent: cætera vero auctoritatem, qua per se carent, in Decretum translata non consequuntur. Sunt qui Decretum ab Eugenio III. probatum, et publica auctoritate putant: sed hæc opinio nullum habet idoneum fundamentum, quo niti posse videatur. Neque enim unquam a sede Apostolica Decretum approbatum est: quin etiam Gregorius XII. huic operi emendando licet primum a Pio IV. et V. præpositus fuisset, ei tamen Pontificiam auctoritatem tribuere noluit, cum illud se Pontifice absolutum in manus hominum pervenisset.—Ibid., § 79. pp. 85, 86. Romæ, 1825.

° Post editum Gratiani Decretum plures prodierunt summorum Pontificum Decretales, quibus magnas canonicæ jurisprudentiæ cumulus accedebat. . . . . .

Denique Gregorius IX. qui post Honorium Pontificatum obtinuit, suam confecit collectionem, per quam absolutæ sunt quinque illæ vetustiores, quarum nunc facta mentio est. Prodiit hæc collectio, quam *Decretales* dicimus anno 1234, studio atque opera Sancti Raymundi de Pennafort ex ordine prædicatorum. . . . . .

Decretalium nomine collectio hæc appellatur, quæ decretales epistolas summorum Pontificum præsertim complectitur. Sunt autem Decretales epistolæ, quæ etiam absolute *Decretales* et *Decretalia Responsa* vocantur, Pontificiæ litteræ, quibus consulenti rescribitur; et quæ *Decretales* dicuntur, propterea quod iis aliquid generatim vim habiturum, re diligenter expensa, decernitur.—Devoti, ib. § 80. 84, 85. pp. 86—89.

Decretales Gregorii IX. in Germania habent vim legis, exceptio nonnullis imperii principiis contrariis, quæ a Germanis non admittuntur. Nam primo, eo tempore quo Decretales emanarunt, summa fuit Pontificum authoritas, illorumque legibus se imperatores et reges facile subjecerunt; ergo dubium non est, quin Pontifices suas Decretales in vim legis promulgare voluerint. Hinc a Frederico II. et Rudolpho Decretales publico ordinum decreto sæculo xiii. confirmatæ sunt. Secundo, Episcopi etiam Germani Decretales acceptarunt, a veteri norma judiciorum recesserunt, et in decidendis causis ad Decretales semper provocerunt, nec alia jura allegarunt: imo in legibus etiam publicis imperii ad eas provocatum fuit uti in Recessu Wormatiensi de anno 1521. Assessores cameræ imperiales jubentur pronuntiare nach des Reichs gemeinen Recte, c. 33.—Schram, Inst. Jur. Eccles. Dissert. Proem., § 51. tom. i. pp. 58, 59. August. Vindel. 1774.

Church by word of mouth, is also delivered in writing, and contained in the Scriptures[p]. That the rules of good order which the Apostles delivered, were never intended to be unchangeable, as you may hear Tertullian say, *de Virginibus Velandis*, cap. i.[q] For in making this answer, they do acknowledge that the Church had a rule of faith, which it had received for a law from the Apostles, and therefore delivered for a law to all that became Christians.

§ 41. But whether this rule be contained in the Scriptures or not, concerns not my present purpose, seeing it will be as much the cognizance of Christians, and foundation of the society and corporation of the Church—tending to maintain unity in the profession and exercise of Christianity—whether so or otherwise. Only no man will deny that it may be not so easy to discern by the Scriptures alone what belongs to it, what not, as it may appear to be by the Church's delivering it. Nor do I pretend here, that the orders delivered by the Apostles are all unchangeable. For who knoweth not that the laws of every commonwealth do change from age to age, the state of government remaining the same, because those rights in which sovereignty consisteth remain the same? And therefore it is enough for my purpose, that the Church
51 had certain orders, regulating the proceeding thereof, in matters wherein it is to communicate, as well under the Apostles as in succeeding ages. Nor requiring that they

[p] Nos primo dicimus, non omnia esse scripta, in libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ Apostoli aut docuerunt, aut fecerunt. Præterea Christum multa dixisse et fecisse concedimus, quæ non scribuntur. E duodecim Apostolis septem nihil scripserunt, qui tamen multa viva voce passim docuerunt, et fecerunt. Nam jussi sunt mundum ipsum obire, et ubique gentium Evangelium prædicare, quod illi sedulo fecerunt. Atque omnia quidem quæ Christus fecit, non esse scripta, ex Joannis ultimo capite patet, versu ultimo. Deinde fatemur Apostolos in singulis Ecclesiis, ritus aliquos atque consuetudines, ordinis et decori causa sanxisse, non autem scripsisse, quia hi ritus non fuerunt perpetui futuri, sed liberi qui pro commodo et temporum ratione mutari possent. Præscriptos autem ab illis esse ejusmodi ritus aliquos ad honestam Ecclesiæ πολιτείαν accommodatos, patet ex 1 Corinth. xi. et xiv. capitibus. Tantum generalis regula habetur in Scripturis. Omnes istos ritus ad ædificationem ac decorum esse dirigendos, sed ipsi particulares ritus non proponuntur. At dicimus omnia quæ necessaria sunt, sive ad fidem, sive ad vitam spectent, aperte et abunde in Scripturis explicari.—Whitaker. de Script. Sacr. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. vi. p. 372. Genevæ, 1610.

[q] Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem. . . . . .

Hac lege fidei manente cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei.—P. 309. ed. Pam. Rothomagi, 1662.

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should be always the same, but that they should come alway from the same power which they left in the Church, that so the body may appear to continue always one and the same. And that I proceed to prove, by shewing that the power of those public persons, which did always act in behalf of the Church, in admitting into, and excluding out of, the Church —whereby those laws were in force, and wherein the unity of the Church consisteth—is derived from our Lord, by the act of His Apostles.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT THE POWER OF GOVERNING THE WHOLE CHURCH WAS IN THE APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, AND THOSE WHOM THEY TOOK TO ASSIST THEM IN THE PARTS OF IT. THE POWER OF THEIR SUCCESSORS MUST NEEDS BE DERIVED FROM THOSE. WHY THAT SUCCESSION WHICH APPEARS IN ONE CHURCH NECESSARILY HOLDETH ALL CHURCHES. THE HOLDING OF COUNCILS EVIDENCETH THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

That the power of governing the whole Church was in the Apostles and disciples of Christ, and those whom they took to assist them in the parts of it.

For this I must presume of, in the first place, that as the Church is, and was to be, the true spiritual Israel of God, when His ancient people departed from Him by refusing the Gospel; so, to signify this, did our Lord choose out twelve Apostles and seventy disciples, answerable to the twelve princes of tribes and the seventy elders, which with Moses were to govern God's ancient people. Neither do I marvel that we find in the Scriptures no further use made of these seventy, no further power exercised by them under that title[r]; the difference between God's ancient and new people appearing straight after our Lord's ascension, and making that order useless for the future. For Israel, dwelling all in one land, might easily be governed by one sovereign court in matters of the law, answerable in power to that of Moses and his seventy elders: but Christianity being to be dispersed all over the world, those seventy which our Lord chose for His present service could not serve for the like purpose in time to come. It is therefore enough that the number of them signifies unto us the aforesaid purpose, their office for the time to come being swallowed up in the offices of the rest of our Lord's disciples,

[r] See Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 11; and Review, chap. ii. sect. 28.

beside the twelve Apostles, remaining always the judges of the twelve tribes of Israel, here and in the world to come.

§ 2. I am sensible that some, both of our Presbyterians and Independents, have been nibbling at this point, as if they had a mind, if they durst, to say that the Apostles had no authority in the Church but as writers of Scripture: as for the government of the Church, that the people or their buckram elders were to give them checkmate in it. But having met with this pretence in another place[s], and heard no man open his mouth to maintain it, I shall, at present, rest content to have shewed afore that their authority is the ground of the authority of their writings, and here, that their traditions were law to the Church, and that by their writings, which mention not so much as what the traditions were. Whereby it appears that they took place as acts of their perpetual authority over the Church, not as revelations of God's will[t], sent by those epistles, wherein sometimes they are not so much as named.

The power of their successors must needs be derived from those.

§ 3. Beside the Apostles then, at such time as the Church of Jerusalem contained all Christendom, as I observed afore[u], you have mention of the elders at Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30; xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23. And again, after the propagation of Christianity, xxi. 18. Of leading men also among the brethren, who were also prophets, doctors, and evangelists, xv. 22, 32, 35. These then had not their commission from the Apostles, because other disciples, as well as the twelve, received at our Lord's own hands the power of remitting sins by the Holy Ghost, John xx. 19—23. But there was never yet any doubt made that their authority was limitable by the Apostles, because of the eminence of the twelve among the disciples. And therefore he that would say that the seventy were contained in the number of those elders and leaders,
52 could no more be contradicted, than some of the ancient fathers can be contradicted in reporting that some of them were of the number of the seven that were chosen to assist the Apostles[x], Acts vi. St. Paul, further, rehearsing the graces that our Lord hath granted for the edification of His Church,

[s] Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 32—38, and Review, chap. ii. sect. 33. Review of the Prim. Govern., chap. i. sects. 5, 6.

[t] See Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 35.

[u] Chap. vi. sect. 15.

[x] See Review of the Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 34. note g.

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reckoneth Apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and doctors: Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28. Now it is the whole Church that the Apostle speaks of here, as I observed afore, and therefore the authority here mentioned extendeth to the whole Church.

§ 4. But it is manifest that the authority which St. Paul giveth Timothy and Titus, as his epistles to them evidence, is respective to the Churches of Ephesus and Crete, or at the most those Churches which resorted to them; yet are they enabled thereby to constitute Bishops for the service of the said Churches, as also their deacons, and to govern the same: 2 Tim. ii. 2; Titus i. 5—9. The elders of the Church which St. Paul sent for to Ephesus, had authority respective to the Church there meant, but received from St. Paul, as his directions and exhortations intimate, Acts xx. 17, 28—31. So did the elders which he and Barnabas ordained in the Churches, Acts xiv. 23. The like we find in the Churches of the Jews, Heb. xiii. 7, 17; James v. 14; 1 Pet. v. 1—5: and of the Thessalonians and Philippians, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Phil. i. 1. And the seven Churches of Asia have their seven angels, which the epistles which the Spirit directs St. John to write them do shew that they were to acknowledge his authority, Apoc. i. 20; ii.; iii. So as long as the Scriptures last, it is evident that there was a common authority, whether derived from, or concurrent with, the authority of the Apostles, which must needs make the Church one body during that time, whatsoever privilege can be challenged on behalf of the people, and their concurrence to the acts either of each particular Church or of the whole.

Why that succession which appears in one Church, necessarily holdeth all Churches.

§ 5. And for the continuance of this authority after the Apostles, I see no cause why I should seek far for evidence. It shall suffice me to allege the heads of the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, Antiochia, and Jerusalem, recorded by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Histories[y], from the time of the Apostles. Adding thereunto the protestations of Irenæus,

[y] For the Roman succession, see lib. iii. capp. ii. iv. xiv. xv. xxxiv.; lib. iv. capp. i. x. xix.; lib. v. capp. vi. xxii.; lib. vi. cap. xxi.; lib. vii. cap. ii.

For the Alexandrian, lib. ii. cap. xxiv.; lib. iii. capp. xiii. xxi.; lib. iv. capp. i. x. xix.; lib. v. capp. ix. xxii.; lib. vi. cap. xxvi.

For the Antiochene, lib. iii. cap. xxii.; lib. iv. cap. xx.; lib. v. cap. xxii.; lib. vi. cap. xxi.

For the Hierosolymitan, lib. iii. cap. xi.; lib. iv. cap. v.; lib. v. capp. xii. xxii.

iii. 3[z], that he could reckon those that received their authority from the Apostles in all Churches, though for brevity's sake he insist only in the Church of Rome; and of Tertullian, *de Præscript.*, cap. xxxvi.[a], who also allegeth the very chairs which the Apostles sat upon, possessed by those that succeeded them in his time, as well as the originals of those epistles which they sent to such Churches, extant in his time.

§ 6. I will also remember St. Augustine, *Epistola* clxv.[b], and Optatus, lib. ii.[c], alleging the same succession in the Church of Rome to confound the Donatists with, for departing from the communion thereof, and of all Churches that then communicated with it. For what will any man in his right senses say to this? That this authority came not from the Apostles? Or that it argues every one of these Churches to be a body by itself, but not all of them to make one body, which is the Catholic Church? He that says this must answer Irenæus[d], alleging, for a reason, why he instances only in the Church of Rome; *Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles.* "For to this Church it is necessary that all Churches, that is, the Christians that are on all sides, should resort, because of the more powerful principality."

§ 7. What is the reason why it is enough for Irenæus to instance in the Church of Rome but this; that all Churches do communicate with the Church of Rome when they resort to Rome, and all resort thither because it is the seat of the

[z] Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur.—P. 175. ed. Ben.

[a] Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxime est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum; si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. Statu felix Ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur, ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur.—P. 338. ed. Par. Rothomagi, 1662.

[b] See Prim. Govern., chap. v. sect. 8. note i.

[c] Ib., note h.

[d] Lib. iii. cap. iii. § 2. p. 175. ed. Ben. The text there has potiorem, instead of

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empire? So that which is said of the faith of the Church of Rome is said of the faith of all Churches: and *potentior principalitas* is not the command of that Church over other Churches, but the power of the empire, which forced the Christians of all sides to resort to Rome. Again, the cause of that Church against the Donatists stands upon this ground[e], that the Church of Rome, which the Churches of Africa did communicate with, communicated with all Churches beside those of Africa: but that Church of Rome which the Donatists communicated with—for they also had set up a Church of their own at Rome[f]—the rest of the Church did not communicate with. How this came to pass you may see by the 53
cause of the Novatians, being the same in effect with that of the Donatists.

§ 8. By the fourth canon of Nicæa[g] it is provided that every Bishop be made by all the Bishops of the province, some of them—as many as can—meeting, the rest allowing the proceedings under their hand. This provision might be made when there were Churches in all cities of all provinces, but the first canon of the Apostles[h] only requireth that a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops. For when Christianity was thinner sowed, if two or three should take the care of providing a pastor for a Church that was void,

[e] See chap. x. sect. 39.

[f] Sed et habere vos in urbe Roma partem aliquam dicitis, ramus est vestri erroris, protentus de mendacio, non de radice veritatis. Denique si Macrobio dicatur, ubi illic sedeat, numquid potest dicere, in cathedra Petri? quam nescio si vel oculis novit, et ad cujus memoriam non accedit quasi schismaticus, contra Apostolum faciens, qui ait, memoriis Sanctorum communicantes. ..... Quid est hoc, quod pars vestra in urbe Roma Episcopum civem habere non potuit? quid est, quod toti Afri et peregrini, in illa civitate sibi successisse noscuntur? non apparet dolus? non factio, quæ mater est schismatis? Interea Victor Garbensis, ut hinc prior mitteretur, non dico lapis in fontem; quia nec valuit puritatem catholicæ multitudinis perturbare, sed quia quibusdam Afris urbica placuerat commoratio; et hinc a vobis profecti videbantur; ipsi petierunt, ut aliquis hinc, qui illos colligeret, mitteretur. Missus est igitur Victor: erat ibi filius sine patre, tiro sine principe, discipulus sine magistro, sequens sine antecedente, inquilinus sine domo, hospes sine hospitio, pastor sine grege, Episcopus sine populo. Non enim grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui inter quadraginta, et quod excurrit, basilicas, locum ubi colligerent, non habebant. Sic speluncam quamdam, foris a civitate, cratibus sepserunt, ubi ipso tempore conventiculum habere potuissent: unde Montenses appellati sunt. Igitur quia Claudianus Luciano, Lucianus Macrobio, Macrobius Encolpio, Encolpius Bonifacio, Bonifacius Victori successisse videntur: si Victori diceretur, ubi sederit? nec ante se aliquem illic fuisse monstraret, nec cathedram aliquam nisi pestilentiæ ostenderet.—S. Optat. de Schism. Donat., lib. ii. cap. iv. pp. 32—35. Antverpiæ, 1702.

[g] Cited in the Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 2. note k. See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 21.

[h] Cited in the Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 2. note i.

their proceeding was not like to be disowned by the rest of the neighbouring Churches, nor in particular by that of the chief city, to which the rest of the cities resorted for justice. The Churches of these chief cities holding intelligence, correspondence, and communion with other Churches of other principal cities, those Churches which they owned, together with their rulers—or whosoever they were that acted on behalf of them—must needs be owned by them in the same unity and correspondence.

§ 9. The Bishop of Rome being dead while the question depended whether those that had fallen away in the persecution of Decius should be re-admitted to communion or not; and the neighbour Bishops being assembled, sixteen of them ordain Cornelius, three of them Novatianus[i], who stood strictly upon rejecting them, whatsoever satisfaction they tendered the Church[j]. Whether of these should be received, was for a time questionable, especially in the Church of Antiochia, and those Churches which adhered to it; until by the intercession of Dionysius of Alexandria, they were induced to admit of Cornelius without dispute. All this and much more you have in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 46[k]. Which being done, there remained no further question, that those who held with Cornelius were to be admitted, those that held with Novatianus remaining excommunicate. Whereby it appears, that by the communication which passed between the greatest Churches, and the adherence of the less unto them, whatsoever Church communicated with any Church communicated with the whole: and in what quality soever a man was known in his own Church, in the same he was acknowledged in all Churches. And therefore the succession of the rulers of any Church from the Apostles[l] is enough to

[i] See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 5.

[j] See chap. x. sect. 14.

[k] See Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 4.

[l] Barrow sums up the argument thus, and then replies as follows:—"All ecclesiastical power was derived from the same fountains, by succession from the Apostles; therefore the Church was one political body."

"Ans. 1. Thence we may rather infer, that Churches are not so united, because the founders of them were several persons, endowed with co-ordinate and equal power.

"Ans. 2. The Apostles did in several Churches constitute Bishops independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by succession from those, or by the constitutions of human prudence, according to emergencies of occasion, and circumstances of things.

"Ans. 3. Divers Churches were *αὐτόνομοι*, and all were so acco to St. Cyprian.

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evidence the unity of the Catholic Church, as a visible corporation consisting of all Churches.

The holding of councils evidenceth the unity of the Church.

§ 10. I must not here omit to allege the authority of councils[m], and to maintain the right and power of holding them, and the obligation which the decrees of them regularly made is able to create, to stand by the same authority of the Apostles. Which if I do, there can no further question remain, whether the Church was founded for a corporation by our Lord and His Apostles, when we see the parts ruled

"Ans. 4. All temporal power is derived from Adam, and the patriarchs, ancient fathers of families; doth it thence follow that all the world must be under one secular government?"—Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 679, 680. Oxford, 1830.

[m] Barrow sums up the argument thus, and then replies as follows;—"The use of councils is also alleged as an argument of this unity."

"Ans. 1. General councils—in case truth is disowned, that peace is disturbed, that discipline is loose or perverted—are wholesome expedients to clear truth and heal breaches: but the holding them is no more an argument of political unity in the Church, than the treaty of Munster was a sign of all Europe being under one civil government.

"Ans. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary, prudential means of restoring truth, peace, order, discipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the continual ordinary state of the Church.

"Ans. 3. For during a long time the Church wanted them; and afterwards had them but rarely. 'For the first three hundred years,' saith Bellarmine, 'there was no general assembly; afterwards scarce one in a hundred years. And since the breach between the Oriental and Western Churches, for many centenaries, there hath been none.' Yet was the Church from the beginning one.

"Ans. 4. The first general councils—indeed all that have been with any probable show capable of that denomination—were congregated by emperors, to cure the dissensions of Bishops; what therefore can be argued from them but that the emperors did find it good to settle peace and truth; and took this for a good means thereto? Alb. Pighius said that general councils were an invention of Constantine, and who can confute him?

"Ans. 5. They do shew rather the unity of the empire than of the Church, or of the Church as national under one empire, than as Catholic; for it was the state which did call and moderate them to its purposes.

"Ans. 6. It is manifest that the congregation of them dependeth on the permission and pleasure of secular powers; and in all equity should do so, as otherwhere is shewed.

"Ans. 7. It is not expedient that there should be any of them, now that Christendom standeth divided under divers temporal sovereignties; for their resolutions may intrench on the interests of some princes; and hardly can they be accommodated to the civil laws and customs of every state. Whence we see that France will not admit the decrees of their Tridentine synod.

"Ans. 8. There was no such inconvenience in them while Christendom was in a manner confined within one empire, for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the emperor's leave, or to his prejudice.

"Ans. 9. Yea—as things now stand—it is impossible there should be a free council, most of the Bishops being sworn vassals and clients to the Pope; and by their own interests concerned to maintain his exorbitant grandeur and domination.

"Ans. 10. In the opinion of St. Athanasius, there was no reasonable cause of synods, except in case of new heresies springing up, which may be confuted by the joint consent of Bishops.

"Ans. 11. As for particular synods, they do only signify that it was useful for neighbour Bishops to conspire in promoting truth, order, and peace, as we have otherwhere shewed."—Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 682—685. Oxford, 1830.

by the acts of the whole; that is to say, when we see persons authorized in behalf of their particular Churches, do an act which shall oblige those respective Churches. For by the same reason, persons authorized on behalf of all Churches, shall be able to do an act that shall oblige all Churches; which is all that I claim when I maintain that by God's law all Churches are to make one Church.

[The first councils.]

§ 11. When Matthias was ordained an Apostle instead of Judas, I demand why that assembly of Apostles and disciples at which this was done, should not be counted a general council; having shewed that this Church of Jerusalem was then the whole Church[n], and the creating of an Apostle, whom all were to acknowledge in that quality for the future, being an act concerning the whole. I will not say that the act of creating the seven, Acts vi, concerned the whole Church, being content that it remain in question whether the intent of it were such or not. But inasmuch as those that do not allow that they intended to create an order of deacons[o] which all Churches were to make use of afterwards, do not question that if they did intend it the whole Church must needs stand obliged by it, I am not afraid to reckon this assembly also in the rank of general councils[p].

§ 12. As for that of Acts xv., it appeareth sufficiently that those who founded the Church of Antiochia had their first commission from the Apostles, not only by the first preaching of the Gospel there, and the teaching of Barnabas, Acts xi.

[n] Chap. vi. sect. 15.

[o] De diaconatu vero ambiguum magis est; quia non constat ex actibus Apostolorum diaconos altaris, sed diaconos mensarum et viduarum, institutos esse ab Apostolis Actuum sexto, quin potius oppositum ibi dicitur, quoniam diaconi altaris ad orandum et prædicandum ordinantur—ut in Pontificalibus patet—ibi vero dicunt Apostoli, 'nos vero orationi et ministerio verbi instantes erimus.' Quocirca licet tunc non fuerint diaconi altaris instituti, videntur tamen ab Apostolis instituti, licet nesciatur quando et ubi.—Cardin. Cajetan. Opusc., tom. i. tract xi p. 86. Lugdun. 1562.

[p] Si ad œcumenicam synodum exigas generalem convocationem, revera non dicentur œcumenicæ, quæ ab Apostolis habitæ sunt. Præcipua siquidem inter eas habetur Act. xv. Sed quia non fuit omnibus indicta, quorum intererat adesse,—tantum enim aderant Apostoli quatuor, et aliquot pii et prudentes viri, quos beatus Lucas ecclesiam vocat—non dicetur œcumenica. Erunt igitur media hæc concilia inter œcumenica et provincialia. Habita enim ratione materiæ—agebatur siquidem de fidei negotio—erunt universalia; habita vero ratione congregationis, quæ non fuit universalis, potius accedent ad provincialia quam ad œcumenica. Sed quia aderant Apostoli peculiariter donati muneribus et charismatibus Spiritus Sancti, poterant illi quidem pauci numero, de fidei rebus tuto statuere, quod non liceret hoc tempore, aliis non accer
—Joverii Sanctiones
1. Paris. 1555.

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19—26, but chiefly in that those which taught the necessity of 54
observing Moses's law are disowned, as having no commission so to teach: Acts xv. 24. For as for St. Paul, who challengeth an immediate commission from our Lord, Gal. i. 1, it is easily granted, because he was made an Apostle; yet in that he allegeth the verifying of it to St. Peter and St. James, and the Churches of Judæa—who having never seen his face, glorified God for him, Gal. i. 18—24.—in that he is brought by Barnabas—who acted by commission from the Apostles—to Antiochia, and upon this beginning was sent by the Holy Ghost, that is, by prophecy, to do the office of an Apostle with Barnabas, Acts xiii. 1—3: in that he is owned by the Apostles afterwards, Acts xv. 12; Gal. ii. 1, 7—10.—which makes it more than probable that both these texts speak of one and the same time of St. Paul's coming to Jerusalem—in these regards, I say, it appears sufficiently, that the Church was to own him for an Apostle, upon the owning his immediate calling from heaven by the rest of the Apostles.

§ 13. Wherefore when we see those that were trusted on behalf of the Church of Antiochia, and those Churches which had been founded by those that were sent by the Holy Ghost from thence, resort to the Apostles and Church at Jerusalem, for an end of the difference in debate, well may I, with those that have gone afore me, reckon this meeting among the general councils, the cause of it concerning the whole, and no part concerned that it obliged not. I will not say so much of the meeting of St. Paul with St. James, Acts xxi. 18.—though the elders there mentioned are thought to be those that had the chief authority in the neighbouring Churches, as well as in that of Jerusalem; and though St. Paul by this time was become the head of many more Churches of his own foundation than afore—because of the dispersion of the rest of the Apostles, and the founding of other Churches by this time, which could not be tied by the result of this meeting further than the matter of it was enforced by the decree formerly made, of which, among the Apostles, there ought no doubt to be made.

[The Church

§ 14. Let no man expect that I infer upon these premises[q],

[q] Nam etsi generalia concilia non semper haberi possunt, ut cum Ecclesia est in persecutione, sævientibus contra illam tyrannis, tamen tum etiam

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that the Church is bound by a positive law of God to call councils, and to decide all emergencies by the vote of them, much less that it is not able to do this otherwise. I that pretend the Church to be a corporation, founded by God, upon a privilege of holding visible assemblies for the common service of God[r], notwithstanding any secular force prohibiting the same, must needs maintain by consequence, that the Church hath power in itself to hold all such assemblies as shall be requisite to maintain the common service of God, and the unity in it, and the order of all assemblies that exercise it, but especially that profession which it supposeth. But I intend not therefore to tie the Church to inflame persecution, by holding such assemblies, as may give occasion of sinister suspicions to secular powers that protect not Christianity, when the effect of such assemblies is to be obtained without assembling.

[not bound to call councils.]

§ 15. For whosoever they be that ought to be authorized in behalf of particular Churches to constitute a council, they can have no other authority than their respective Churches do challenge. It cannot be imagined, that being present in one place together, and seeing one another's faces, can purchase them that authority which they cannot have at home, to conclude the whole by the consent of the council. The presence of representatives affords infinite opportunities of better information one from another, by debate one with another, which distance of place allows not otherwise. But yet in matters concerning the state of the whole, or any great part of it, means of information for the maintenance of that confederacy, wherein I maintain the society of the Church to stand, is to be had by daily intercourse, intelligence, and correspondence between Churches, without those assemblies of

[Ground of their authority.]

aliqua et possunt et debent haberi concilia. Sic primis trecentis annis post Christum varia concilia habita sunt, ut contra Paulum Samosatenum Cyprianus concilium cum suis Episcopis habuit. Et hoc probatur, primo, ex Christi dicto, sive promisso, quod habetur, Matth. xviii. 20. 'Ubi duo aut tres' &c. quem locum de conciliis intelligi concedunt etiam adversarii. Secundo ex Apostolorum facto. Tertio ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine. Cyprianus, lib. ii. ep. i. sic scribit, 'Necesse habuimus convenientibus in unum pluribus Sacerdotibus cogere, et celebrare concilium.' —Whitaker. Controv. iii. *de Conciliis.* Q. i. cap. iii. p. 576. Genevæ, 1610.

"For the better government and further edification of the Church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils. Acts xv. 2, 4, 6."—Advice of the Assembly of Divines, chap. xxxi. p. 53. London, 1647.

[r] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 5.

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representatives which we call councils. A thing so visibly practised by the Catholic Church from the beginning, that thereupon I conceive it may be called a standing council, in regard of the continual settling of troubles, arising in some part, and tending to question the peace of the whole, by the consent of other Churches concerned, had and obtained by means of this mutual intelligence and correspondence.

§ 16. The holding of councils is a way of far greater despatch, but the express consent of Churches obtained upon the 55
place, is a more certain foundation of peace, in regard of the many questions that may arise, as well in the discharge of that trust which representatives are charged with, as in the respect allowed their votes by the council; as it may easily appear, by the difficulties[s] that have risen about executing the decrees of councils. And therefore the power of them is merely derivative from their respective Churches, tending to supply those difficulties of bringing the whole to agreement, which distance of place createth.

[Succession of Bishops.]

§ 17. That therefore which I allege here is this, that the succession of pastors alleged by Irenæus and Tertullian[t], to convince the heretics of their time; by St. Augustine and Optatus[u], to convince the Donatists to be schismatics, proceed wholly upon supposition of daily intercourse and correspondence between Churches, as of force to conclude particular Churches by consent of the whole. Which is the true reason of the visibility of the Church, and the assurance that every particular Christian might have, during this intelligence and correspondence, that holding communion with his own pastor, he held the true faith, together with the unity of the Catholic Church; neither putting trust in man, which God curseth, nor in his own understanding, for the sense of the Scriptures, but trusting his own common sense, as well for the means of conveying to him the matter, as the motives of Christianity.

§ 18. For why is it enough for Irenæus and Tertullian, for St. Augustine and Optatus, to allege the Church of Rome, and the succession from the Apostles, for evidence that the

[s] Touching the admission of the decrees of the council of Trent throughout Christendom, see Histoire de la Reception du Concile de Trente, dans les différens Etats Catholiques;—[par l'Abbe Mignot]. Amsterdam, 1756.

[t] See sect. 5. above.

[u] Ibidem.

faith of those heretics was contrived by themselves, that the Donatists were out of communion with the Church? Because supposing that the Apostles and disciples of our Lord all communicated in the same faith which they taught the Churches of their own founding, other Churches founded, and the pastors of them constituted, by the authority of those Churches, must needs be founded and settled upon condition of maintaining and professing the same faith. So that if any Christian or pastor should attempt the unsettling of any part thereof, the people did stand bound, rather to follow the original consent of the whole, from whence they received their Christianity, than any man that should forfeit his engagement to the whole, in the judgment of the whole.

§ 19. This—being the true ground for the authority of councils—might and did take effect without assembling of councils. St. Cyprian directs his letters to Steven Bishop of Rome, to write to the Churches of Gaul, to ordain a new Bishop instead of Marcianus in the Church of Arles, because he had joined with the Novatians, *Epist.* lxv.[x] To the Spanish Bishops, owning the deposing of Basilides and Martialis, and the ordaining of those whom they had put in their places, notwithstanding that upon false suggestions they had gained Steven Bishop of Rome to maintain them, *Epist.* lxvi.[y] Could

[x] Cyprianus Stephano fratri salutem. Faustinus collega noster Lugduni consistens, frater carissime, semel atque iterum mihi scripsit significans ea quæ etiam vobis scio utique nuntiata tam ab eo quam a cæteris coëpiscopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis, quod Marcianus Arelate consistens Novatiano sese conjunxerit, et a Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitate atque a corporis nostri et sacerdotii consensione discesserit, ... Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem a te literæ quibus abstento Marciano alius in locum ejus substituatur, et grex Christi qui in hodiernum ab illo dissipatus et vulneratus contemnitur, colligatur. — Ep. lxvii. pp. 115, 116. ed. Ben.

[y] Cum in unum convenissemus, legimus literas vestras, fratres dilectissimi, quas ad nos per Felicem et Sabinum coëpiscopos nostros pro fidei vestræ integritate, et pro Dei timore fecistis, significantes Basilidem et Martialem libellis idololatriæ commaculatos, et nefandorum facinorum conscientia vinctos episcopatum gerere et sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere; . . . . . Propter quod diligenter de traditione Divina et Apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ... Quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio et de Episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio Episcopatus ei deferretur, et manus ei in locum Basilidis imponeretur. Nec rescindere ordinationem jure perfectam potest quod Basilides post crimina sua detecta et conscientiam etiam propria confessione nudatam Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum et gestæ rei ac veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injuste in Episcopatum de quo fuerat jure depositus.— Ep. lxviii. pp. 117, 119. ed. Ben.

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§ 20. If this be imputed to any mistake of God's appointment in the ancient Church, it will be easy for me to allege Tertullian's[z] reason to as good purpose against our Independent congregations, as he used it against the heretics of his time. For if the chief power of the Church be vested in those that assemble to serve God at once, without any obligation to the resolution of other congregations, then is the trust that a Christian can repose in the Church resolved into that confidence which he hath of those seven, with whom he joineth to make a congregation, that the ruling part of them cannot fail. Or rather into that which he hath of himself and of the Spirit of God, guiding his choice to those that shall not fail. They presuming themselves to have the Spirit of God, without declaring what Christianity they profess, for the condition upon which they obtain it, need no provision of a Catholic Church to preserve that faith which the gift of the 56
Holy Ghost supposeth. God, who requireth the profession of a true faith in them upon whom He bestoweth His Spirit, hath provided the communion of His Church for a means to assure us of that which it preserveth. That it is presumption in them to oversee this, no imposture in the Church to challenge it, Tertullian's reason determines; the heretics pleaded that the Churches had departed from the faith which the Apostles had left them; to this, after other allegations, he sets his rest upon this one, that error is infinite, truth one and the same; that no common sense will allow that to be a mistake, in which all Christians agree. They all agreed in the same faith against those heretics, because they all agreed in acknowledging the Catholic Church, provided by God to

[z] See note a below.

preserve and propagate it, against our Independent congregations. Thus Tertullian, *de Præscript.* xxviii.[a]

§ 21. There have been some disputers of controversies[b] that have claimed the benefit of Tertullian's[c] exception against the heretics of his time in behalf of the Church of Rome. He pleadeth, not that the Catholics ought not, but that they are not bound, to admit them to dispute upon the Scriptures, being able to condemn them without the Scriptures. And they plead, that the reformation not standing to those pastors whom they acknowledge to possess the place of those that derived their authority by succession from the Apostles, may be condemned without Scripture, as not holding the truth, who hold not that which is taught by the said

[The whole reasoning of the Fathers, against the ancient heretics,]

[a] Age nunc. Omnes erraverint; deceptus sit et Apostolus de testimonio reddendo quibusdam; nullam respexerit Spiritus Sanctus uti eam in veritatem deduceret; ad hoc missus a Christo, ad hoc postulatus de Patre ut esset doctor veritatis; neglexerit officium Dei villicus, Christi vicarius, sinens Ecclesias aliter interim intelligere, aliter credere, quam ipse per Apostolos prædicabat. Ecquid verisimile est, ut tot ac tantæ in unam fidem erraverint? Nullus inter multos eventus est unus exitus, variasse debuerat error doctrinæ Ecclesiarum. Cæterum quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum sed traditum. Audeat ergo aliquis dicere illos erravisse qui tradiderunt? Quoquo modo sit erratum, tam diu utique regnavit error, quam diu hæreses non erant.—P. 336. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[b] Ex Latinis, Tertullianus, libr. *de Præscript. Hæret.* pulchre deducit, id quod volumus. Primo enim docet, non debere cum hæreticis disputari ex Scripturis: quia cum possessio et intelligentia vera Scripturarum sit Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, prius debet constare, quæ sit vera doctrina Ecclesiæ, et tunc ex illa intelligendæ sunt Scripturæ. Quæ sit autem vera doctrina Ecclesiæ non potest tutius quæri quam in Ecclesiis Apostolicis, quarum præcipua est Romana. Nam Deus doctrinam veritatis Christo tradidit, Christus Apostolis, Apostoli successoribus suis.—Bellarm. de Verb. Dei, libr. iii. cap. viii. col. 153. Colon. Agrippin. 1620.

. . . . . negat hæreticis omnem Scripturarum tractationem Tertullianus. 'Dispici debet,' inquit, 'cui competat possessio Scripturarum, ne is admittatur ad eandem, cui nullo modo competit.' . . . . .

'An a vobis verbum Dei processit aut in vos solos pervenit?' Docens eos nec magistros esse Ecclesiarum, a quibus prædicatio verbi processit; nec etiam ad ipsum populum fidelem pertinere, ad quem illa prædicatio pervenit, ideoque omni modo a prophetandi seu verbum Dei interpretandi potestate, esse penitus exclusos. Eodem sane jure et nostri hodie Protestantes ab omni Scripturarum tractatione excluduntur, utcunque eam more rebellium, tanquam arma et vexilla regia, in manus suscipiunt et usurpant.—Stapleton. Princip. Fid. Controv. vi. lib. x. cap. iv. pp. 363, 364. Paris. 1582.

[c] Sed ipsi et de Scripturis agunt, et de Scripturis suadent. Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei. Venimus igitur ad propositum; huc enim dirigebamus, et hoc præstruebamus, ad locutionis præfationem, ut jam hinc de eo congrediamur, de quo adversarii provocant; Scripturas obtendunt, et hac sua audacia statim quosdam movent; in ipso vero congressu firmos quidem fatigant, infirmos capiunt, medios cum scrupulo dimittunt. Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus, non admittendos eos ad ullam de Scripturis disputationem; si hæ sunt vires eorum, anne eas habere possint dispici debet, cui competat possessio Scripturarum, ne is admittatur ad eas, cui nullo modo competit.—De Præscript. adv. Hæret. xv. p. 333. ed. Pam. Rothomag.

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pastors. Which is to demand of those of the reformation, for an end of all debate, first to acknowledge those pastors, and that which they teach, then to take that for the true meaning of the Scripture, which that which they teach alloweth or requireth. But this supposes the sentence of the Church to be an infallible ground for the truth of that which it determineth, and therefore to be accepted with the same faith as our common Christianity or the Scriptures, which I shewed you already to be false[d].

[holds not necessarily against the reformers.]

§ 22. It shall therefore suffice me to say, that those men consider not the difference between the plea of the reformation[e] and that of those heretics. For they acknowledging our Lord Christ and His Apostles no otherwise than the Alcoran and Mahomet doth, where they served their turn, made no scruple to say, when it was for their purpose, that they knew not the depth of God's mind, which themselves, by some secret way having attained to know, were therefore called Gnostics; that they imparted not the utmost of their knowledge to all alike, when that served their turn; that therefore the Scriptures were imperfect, and revealed not that secret whereby they promised them salvation but by inklings. These things you shall find in Tertullian, *de Præscript.* xxii.[f], and Irenæus iii. 1[g], as well as that plea which I mentioned

[d] "Chap. iv., and it is partly the business of chap. iii." MSS. chap. iii. sectt. 1. 7. chap. iv. sectt. 18—21.

[e] Jam ad Latinos Patres Bellarminus accedit, et septimo loco objicit Tertullianum, *in libr. de Præscript. advers. Hæreticos;* ubi docet non debere ex Scripturis disputari cum hæreticis. Respondeo, Tertullianus ait, quosdam hæreticos non recipere quasdam scripturas; contra tales ex Scripturis non esse disputandum, sed aliis argumentis utendum esse. Hoc quidem nos fatemur, cum hujusmodi nimirum hominibus, qui Scripturas negant et rejiciunt, non ex Scripturis, sed ex Ecclesiæ testimonio agendum esse, aut aliis argumentis pugnandum. Operam enim ludit qui contra negantes Scripturas ex Scripturis disputat. Tertullianus ergo nihil contra nos dicit, et quis negat veritatem fuisse potissimum in Apostolicis Ecclesiis quærendam? Num hinc effici potest, Romanum Episcopum esse summum judicem controversiarum et interpretem Scripturarum? Nisi Romæ Bellarminus viveret, et Papæ gratificari studeret, nunquam isto modo disputaret.—Whitaker. de Sacr. Script. Controv. i. Quæst. iv. cap. vi. p. 355. Genev. 1610.

[f] Solent dicere non omnia Apostolos scisse; eadem agitati dementia, qua rursus convertunt: omnia quidem Apostolos scisse, sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse.—P. 334. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

[g] Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum. Nec enim fas est dicere, quoniam ante prædicaverunt, quam perfectam haberent agnitionem, sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes emendatores se esse Apostolorum.—P. 173. ed. Ben.

afore, that the Churches were fallen from that which they had received of the Apostles.

§ 23. Whereas those of the reformation[h] allege against the Church of Rome, that those heretics pretended tradition as they do. Without cause indeed, for what is tradition pretended to be delivered in secret, to them, and by them who tender no evidence for it, to that which the visibility of Christianity, and the grounds upon which it is settled, justifieth? But so as to make it appear that they no way disown the Apostles or their writings, nor can expect salvation by any other means. And therefore are manifestly to be tried by the Scriptures acknowledged on both sides, provided the trial may have an issue, which I pretend requires the tradition of the Church, and that, the communion and corporation of the Church, as the only means to maintain and propagate tradition in it.

§ 24. This our Independent congregations cannot allow, but must stand upon the other plea of those heretics, that it came in beside, if not against, God's appointment, which the Donatists questioned not. And therefore you shall find St. Augustine[i], in the place afore named[k], allege against them the Scriptures, foretelling the calling of all nations, which he supposeth fulfilled in the Catholic Church then visible; and therefore supposeth the communion to be ordained by God, wherein the visibility thereof consisteth. Otherwise it had been strange to tell the Donatists, that they, communicating with the Catholic Bishop of Rome, communicated with all the

[h] Alter locus a Bellarmino ex eodem Tertulliano citatus, habetur in libro *de Præscript. advers. Hæret.*, quem librum scripsit, antequam in illam Montani hæresim incidit. In illo libro ait, non ex Scripturis, sed ex traditione, cum hæreticis disputandum esse. Respondeo: Videtur hoc facere pro adversariis, sed vulnerat eos gravissime. Rem enim habuit cum iis adversariis, cum quibus Irenæum rem habuisse supra diximus. Hi negabant Scripturas esse perfectas: sic Papistæ. Aiebant enim Apostolos non omnia omnibus, sed quædam perfectis tradidisse: sic hodie Papistæ.—Whitaker. de Script. Sacr. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xii. p. 392. Genev. 1610.

[i] Evangelizatum est enim tibi per vocem ipsius Domini Jesu Christi, quod omnibus gentibus annuntiabitur Evangelium ejus, et tunc finis erit. Evangelizatum tibi est per propheticas et Apostolicas literas, quod Abrahæ dictæ sunt promissiones et semini ejus quod est Christus, cum ei diceret Deus, 'In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes.' Has ergo promissiones tenenti, si tibi Angelus de cœlo diceret, dimitte Christianitatem orbis terræ, et tene partis Donati, cujus ordo tibi exponitur in Epistola Episcopi tuæ civitatis, anathema esse deberet; quia te a toto præcidere, et in partem contrudere conaretur, et alienare a promissis Dei.—Ep. 53. ad Generosum. § 1. tom. ii. col. 120. ed. Ben.

[k] Sect. 6. above.

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Church that acknowledged him; but the Donatists, acknowledging the Donatist Bishop whom they had set up at Rome[l], were therefore disowned by all the Church beside. 57

[But that against the Donatists.]

§ 25. I do not deny that those of the reformation are to give account of those things which the Donatists are charged with; nor do I imagine that their account cannot be sufficient, because that of the Donatists was not. But I say that the trial must be by the Scriptures which both parts acknowledge. And I say further, that the rest of the reformation may and ought to admit the unity of the Church in visible communion as the Donatists did, because otherwise they cannot pretend that others are bound to be what they are: but our Independent congregations cannot, because if all were as they, there could be no one Church obliged to that communion which makes it visible.

§ 26. Now I must here caution, that I intend not here to infer that these rulers succeeded the Apostles by a title of divine right, as if it were God's law that this succession should always continue. For I demur[m] for the present, upon the exception of those of the reformation[n], that succession of faith and doctrine is of more consequence than succession of persons; and therefore that there can be no law of God whereby the right which men hold by personal succession can or ought to hinder the reformation of faith and doctrine of Christianity, if it may appear that the succession of persons hath not been effectual to preserve the succession of faith.

§ 27. That which I demand from the premises is this, that no man in his right senses can imagine that all Christendom should agree in acknowledging those for lawful rulers of the Church in the times next the Apostles, that had usurped their places contrary to the will of the Apostles, and those disciples which concurred to the work of the Apostles, and those who derived their authority from either of both, during the time of the Scriptures which I spoke of afore[o]. For those of the reformation that make this exception[p], by making it, do acknowledge that there was such a visible succession of

[l] See sect. 7. note f.

[m] "Demand" in the original text. This correction is borne out by chap. xx. sect. 14, where he says, "I have already demurred."

[n] See Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 33. note m.

[o] Sectt. 3, 4. above.

[p] See Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 54.

pastors, the correspondence of whom, as here I argue, maintained the unity of a visible corporation in the Catholic Church. CHAP. IX.

§ 28. And how many records of historical truth, undeniable of all that would not be thought to renounce their common sense, do testify unto us visible acts of the Apostles, giving power to them whom they left behind them, as those, whom they gave it to, have transmitted the like power to their successors? But when it once appears that they were owned by the consent of all Christians, communicating with them in that quality which they held in their own Churches, it can no more be imagined that they could attain those qualities by deceit or violence, contrary to the will of their predecessors, than it can be imagined that the common Christianity, which we all acknowledge, could prevail over all, by imposing upon their belief such motives to believe, as never were seen, because never done. And therefore whatsoever change may have succeeded in those qualities, from that which the Apostles instituted from the beginning, or by abuse of the same, in the faith which they were trusted to propagate without adding or taking away—which changes may be the subject of reformation in the Church and the belief of it—yet that this point is not of that nature; that all lawful authority in the Church is derived from that which was in the Apostles, propagated by some visible act of theirs, I will presume upon as proved by the premises.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE KEYS OF THE CHURCH GIVEN THE APOSTLES, AND EXERCISED BY EXCOMMUNICATION UNDER THE APOSTLES. THE GROUND THEREOF IS THAT PROFESSION, WHICH ALL THAT ARE BAPTIZED ARE TO MAKE. THAT PENANCE AND ABATEMENT OF PENANCE HATH BEEN IN FORCE EVER SINCE AND UNDER THE APOSTLES. IN PARTICULAR, OF EXCLUDING HERETICS.

The keys of the Church given the Apostles.

In the last place, the right of excommunication consists in the power of remitting and retaining sins, given by our Lord to His Church with the keys of it. First to St. Peter alone

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and exercised by excommunication under the Apostles.

our Lord saith, Matt. xvi. 19, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;" but afterwards to the body of His disciples, Matt. xviii. 17, 18, "If he hear thee not, tell the Church; if he hear not the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye bind" &c. as afore. And to the twelve breathing on them, John xx. 22, 23, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins soever ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins soever ye retain they are retained."

[The case of Simon Magus.]

§ 2. By virtue of this commission, St. Peter saith to Simon Magus, discovered a counterfeit Christian, Acts viii. 20—24, "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought to purchase the gift of God with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this word, for thy heart is not right before God. Repent therefore of this thy malice, and pray God that if possible, this device of thine heart may be forgiven thee. For I see thou art in the gall of bitterness, and the bond of unrighteousness. And Simon answering said, Pray you to the Lord for me, that nothing come upon me of that which you have said." Where, having excluded him from the benefit of Christianity, what he is to expect, he leaves to the trial of future time[q].

[The case of the incestuous Corinthian.]

§ 3. But most manifestly St. Paul, 1 Cor. v., commandeth them to deliver the incestuous person to Satan, adding directions and reasons why they are to abstain from the conversation of such Christians; and pursueth this discourse with a charge of ending the suits of their Christians within the Church, 1 Cor. vi., which either signifies nothing, or enforces the power of excommunication to oblige the parties to stand to the sentence. But the case of the incestuous person is made still more manifest by the reason of the sentence enjoined upon his repentance, and the sorrow testified by the Church, 2 Cor. ii. 4—11; vii. 8—11.

§ 4. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, vi. 4—8, x. 26—29, the Apostle declaring that they who fall away in time of persecution are not to expect to be restored by penance, makes their excommunication without release, which therefore he

[q] See chap. xvii. sect. 17.

granteth may be released upon repentance in the case of other sins. To which purpose the Apostle, 1 John v. 16, 17: "If a man see his brother sin a sin not unto death, let him ask, and He shall give him life; to such as sin not to death. There is a sin to death, I say not that ye pray for it; all unrighteousness is sin, but there is a sin not to death." The meaning of these scriptures, I have argued, and cleared more at large, in my book of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, p. 17—40[r], by such reasons as have not been disputed by those that have questioned this power of the Church since the publishing of it.

The ground thereof is that profession, which all that are baptized are to make.

§ 5. But I will remember, in this place, that which I have also pleaded there, p. 13—16[s], that all this power is grounded upon the power of baptizing to forgiveness of sins, because of the evidence lately produced[t] for the interrogatories of baptism, and the profession of Christianity, which the Church did enjoin, and all that were baptized undergo; the promise of everlasting life in the world to come, and the gift of the Holy Ghost enabling to perform so great an undertaking depending upon it, according to such terms as the preaching of the Gospel importeth. For if the Church be trusted by God, first to induce men to believe Christianity, then to instruct them wherein it consisteth, is it not properly said to forgive the sins of them who, upon that instruction, undertake that profession with a good conscience and a heart unfeigned, which
59 God requireth of those that seek His promises? And this is the ground of that which is there argued, that the power of the keys is first seen in granting baptism, though not in ministering of it, other acts of the same power depending upon this.

§ 6. I will not here omit St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiii.[u] *Manifestum est autem ubi et per quos remissa peccatorum dari possit, quæ in baptismo, scilicet, datur. Nam Petro primum Dominus, super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam, et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit, potestatem istam dedit, ut id solveretur in cœlis quod ille solvisset in terris. Et, post resurrectionem quoque ad Apostolos loquitur, dicens; 'Sicut misit me Pater et*

[r] Chap. i. sects. 19—41.
[s] Right of the Church, chap. i. sects. 14—16.
[t] Chap. vii. sect. 3.
[u] P. 131. ed. Ben.

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ego mitto vos: Hoc cum dixisset, inspiravit, et ait eis; Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi; si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur.' Unde intelligimus, non nisi in Ecclesia præpositis, et in evangelica lege ac Dominica ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare, et remissam peccatorum dare, foris autem, nec ligari aliquid posse nec solvi, ubi non sit qui aut ligare possit aliquid aut solvere.

§ 7. Here it is plain that the keys of the Church, and the power of remitting sins, is exercised in baptizing, according to St. Cyprian: for thus he writeth: "Now it is manifest where and by whom remission of sins is given, which, forsooth, is given in baptism. For first our Lord gave power to Peter—upon whom He built His Church, and in whom He settled and declared the original of unity—that it should be loosed in heaven which he should loose on earth. And after His resurrection, He speaketh also to His Apostles, saying; 'As My Father sent Me, so I also send you. And having said so, He breathed on them, and said, Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted, whose sins ye retain, they shall be retained.' Whence we understand that it is not lawful, but for those that are set over the Church, and founded upon the evangelical law, and the ordinance of our Lord, to baptize and give remission of sins; but, that without, nothing can be either bound or loosed, where there is no body that can either bind or loose."

[The ground of the power of excommunication.]

§ 8. This is then the ground of excommunicating out of the Church. The profession of Christianity is as necessary to obtain the promises of the Gospel at God's hands, as baptism at the Church's. The Church is trusted to allow or to refuse the profession tendered, and accordingly to receive into the Church or exclude out of it. And shall not he that transgresses the profession of a Christian as visibly as he made it—which not only heretics and schismatics, but adulterers, murderers, apostates, and the like do—shall he not forfeit the communion of the Church, which he attained by it?

§ 9. Add hereunto the consideration of that which I observed afore[x] out of the Constitutions of the Apostles, viii. 32, specifying what professions and trades of life there were, which then were refused baptism—unless they would profess to leave

[x] See chap. vii. sect. 12. See also Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 15.

them—as inconsistent with Christianity. For example, all that lived by the stews, by the stage, by the games and by the races of the pagans, all soothsayers, diviners and fortune-tellers, all that kept concubines, and refused to conform themselves. For let no man think this book the only witness of this truth, you have it in many other writers of the Church, but especially in St. Augustine's book *de Fide et Operibus*[y]. The subject whereof concerns those who, having put away wives or husbands and married others, were refused baptism for it.

[Baptism refused to certain persons.]

§ 10. This some plain Christians marvelled at, and thought it reason that all should be baptized that would, and then taught their duty: which whoso regarded not, might nevertheless, as they thought, be saved so as through fire, according to St. Paul. And this is that which St. Augustine disputes from the beginning to the fourteenth chapter of that book, that no man is to be baptized till he undertake to live like a Christian, marvelling afterwards, cap. xviii.[z], where those Christians had lived and spent their time, who, seeing every day before their eyes, whores, players, fencers, panders, and the like, refused baptism, found it strange that those adulterers which Christianity no less condemned never to inherit the kingdom of heaven, should not be admitted into the Church without a promise to leave them for the future. Certainly if the Church have power not to admit those who undertake not this, then is the power of excluding those who undertake it and perform it not well grounded.

[y] Perversum enim putant atque præposterum, prius docere, quemadmodum debeat vivere Christianus, et deinde baptizari. Sed censent præcedere debere baptismi sacramentum, ut deinde sequatur vitæ morumque doctrina: quam si tenere et custodire voluerit, utiliter fecerit; si autem noluerit, retenta fide Christiana, sine qua in æternum periret, in quolibet scelere immunditiaque permanserit, salvum eum futurum tanquam per ignem, velut qui ædificaverit super fundamentum, quod est Christus.—Tom. vi. col. 165. ed. Ben.

[z] Illud sane mirabile est, quod fratres qui aliter sapiunt, cum debeant ab ista vel nova vel vetere, perniciosa tamen opinione discedere, ipsi insuper dicunt novam esse doctrinam, qua nequissimi homines in suis flagitiis se perseveraturos in propatulo profitentes non admittuntur ad baptismum: quasi nescio ubi peregrinentur, quando meretrices et histriones, et quilibet alii publicæ turpitudinis professores nisi solutis aut disruptis talibus vinculis, ad Christiana sacramenta non permittuntur accedere: qui utique secundum istorum sententiam omnes admitterentur, nisi antiquum et robustum morem sancta Ecclesia retineret, ex illa scilicet liquidissima veritate venientem, qua certum habet, 'quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt.' Et nisi egerint ab his mortuis operibus pœnitentiam, accedere ad baptismum non sinuntur: si autem subrepserint, nisi vel postea mutati egerint, salvi esse non possunt.—*Ib.*, col. 184. ed. Ben.

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That penance, and abatement of penance, hath been in force ever since, and under, the Apostles.

§ 11. I shall not repeat here the reasons that I have produced elsewhere[a], to shew that penance, and by consequence excommunication, is to be counted in the number of traditions introduced with the force of laws into the Church by the Apostles. It is enough that they remain entire. I confess they infer an opinion that is not so common; that under the Apostles some sinners of the deepest die were not admitted to penance, nor to regain the communion of the Church by the same, but referred to the mercy of God, whereof it was not always thought fit that the Church should become surety or warrant. And this brings in an interpretation of some very difficult texts of Scripture which is not received; but he that complaineth of that will be bound to advance some other meaning of those texts, which may be free from contradiction, both to the rule of faith, and to historical truth which common sense justifieth; and yet admit no mention of public penance in the Church, no intent to speak of it in all the Scriptures there alleged, which perhaps will be too hard to do. 60

[Proved from Ecclesiastical history,]

§ 12. Further I labour not; I will suppose no man so wilful as to dispute the right of excluding from the communion of the Church, granting a power of limiting the conditions upon which it is to be restored to them who forfeited it. And this is visible: it was but a matter of seventy years after the decease of St. John, according to Eusebius's Chronicle[b], that Montanus appeared to demand that adulterers might not be re-admitted to the communion of the Church upon penance; that those that had married the second time might not communicate; that the rule of fasting might be stricter than was in use; that it might not be lawful to flee from persecution for the faith.

[from the case of Tertullian,]

§ 13. It is manifest that these were his pretences, by Tertullian that maintains them, being seduced with the opinion of inspirations and revelations granted him and his partizans to that purpose. These pretences were afterwards in part revived at Rome by Novatianus, to get himself the Bishopric there, by excluding from penance and reconciliation those that had fallen away in the persecution of Decius[c]. It

[a] Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 19.

[b] Pp. 81, 82. ed. Scalig. Amsterdam, 1658. In the Latin version of St. Hierome the death of St. John is dated 101, and the Montanist heresy 172. —*Ibid.*, pp. 165, 170.

[c] Ναυάτος πρεσβυτερός ὢν τῆς ἐν

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appeareth also that those men alleged for themselves the very passages of the Apostles which I allege to my intent[d]; neither can it appear that ever any son of the Church did contradict them by saying that the Apostles meant nothing of penance, as they imagined. And now let all men judge whether the Church have reason to hold this evidence of penance, and, by consequence, of its own being a Church.

[and that of the Novatians,]

§ 14. Was Epiphanius[e], and all that wrote against the Novatians troubled to no purpose at the sixth of the Hebrews, when those schismatics, alleging it for themselves, might have been silenced, by denying that it concerned penance? Why did not the Church allege that the sin unto death, 1 John v. 17, is no such thing as apostasy from Christianity, when the Novatians alleged it to prove that apostates were not to be reconciled to the Church? How came it to pass that there

Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας διεκρίθη. ἐπειδὴ Κορνήλιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοὺς ἐπιθύσαντας πιστοὺς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δέκιος κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκίνησεν, εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν διακριθεὶς, εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν παρὰ τῶν συμφρονησάντων αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων προχειρισθεὶς, ταῖς πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίαις ἔγραφε, as in note d in Prim. Gov., chap. xi. sect. 2.—Socrat. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. cap. xxviii. p. 245. ed. Vales.

At in hanc ipsam hæresim, Novatiani quando cœperunt? Audite, quæso, et totum ordinem vestri erroris advertite. Cornelius jam Romæ Episcopus a sexdecim Episcopis factus, locum cathedræ vacantis acceperat, et in illa qua fuit prædítus castimonia virginali, crebras persecutiones irati principis sustinebat. Tum forte quidam presbyter, Novatus ex Africa, fraudatis in Carthaginensi Ecclesia viduis, spoliatis pupillis, pecunia Ecclesiæ denegata, projecto extra domum patre, et eodem fame mortuo nec sepulto, uxoris gravidæ utero calce percusso, partuque ejus effuso, Romam venit. Et cum apud Carthaginem, urgentibus in Ecclesia fratribus, duo cognitionis ipsius immineret et hic latitavit, nec multo post, Novatianum istum Episcopatu Cornelii anxium—nam sibi speraverat—cum aliquantis, ut in tali re solet, ex sua parte fautoribus nutantem impellit dubitantem fovet, ut magnum aliquid speret, hortatur. Invenit aliquos ex eorum numero qui tempestatem persecutionis illius evaserunt: apud quos hanc ipsam de lapsis receptis, Cornelio conflaret invidiam; dat eorum epistolas ad Novatianum. Ille ex authoritate epistolarum, sedente jam Romæ Episcopo adversum fas sacerdotii singularis, alterius Episcopi sibi nomen assumit. Cornelium lapsis communicasse arguit, se vindicat innocentem. Contra hunc mihi reddenda ratio est, contra hunc asserendus pudor, contra hunc vita purganda.—S. Pacian. ad Sympronianum, ep. iii. in Bibl. Maxim., tom. iv. p. 310. Lugdun. Anisson. 1677.

[d] . . . . . Est enim delictum ad mortem, non de eo dico ut quis postulet. Meminerat et ipse Hieremiam prohibitum a Deo deprecari pro populo mortalia delinquente. Omnis injustitia delictum est, et est, et est delictum ad mortem. Scimus autem quod omnis qui ex Deo natus sit, non delinquit: scilicet delictum quod ad mortem est. Ita nihil jam superest, quam aut neges mœchiam et fornicationem mortalia esse delicta, aut irremissibilia fatearis, pro quibus nec exorare permittitur. . . . . Impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel illuminati et donum cœleste gustaverunt, ... Hoc qui ab Apostolis didicit, et cum Apostolis docuit, nunquam mœcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab Apostolis nôrat.—Tertull. de Pudicit. capp. xix, xx. p. 1013. ed. Pam. Rothomag.

[e] Hæres. lix. § 2. advers. Catharos, p. 494. Colon. 1682.

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was so much doubt made in the Church of Rome[f] of admitting the Epistle to the Hebrews for canonical Scripture—witness St. Hierome *Epist. ad Dardanum*[g]—as thinking that it did absolutely contradict the re-admitting of apostates, which had been practised in that Church before Montanus?

[Proved from the writings and acts of the Apostles.]

§ 15. Tertullian, of all men, was troubled without cause, that the incestuous person whom he supposes to be excommunicated at Corinth by St. Paul's order, 1 Cor. v., should be re-admitted by his indulgence, 2 Cor. vii.—*de Pudicitia*, capp. xiii, xiv, xv.[h]—because he saw this was a peremptory exception against Montanus, that a crime equal to adultery should by St. Paul be admitted to penance. How easy a thing had it been for him to say that there is nothing of penance, nothing of excommunication—which penance presupposes, and therefore infers—in delivering to Satan the incestuous person, in commanding them not so much as to eat with those that are called brethren, that is, Christians, but are indeed such as the incestuous? But he, being some fourteen hundred years nearer the beginning of Christianity than we, and being satisfied by his five senses of those things which new heresies and schisms oblige us to argue by consequences, found that his patriarch Montanus could not answer so; and therefore, thinking that the Church could not answer their arguments, forces an answer to this by saying[i] it was not the same man that is excommunicated by the Apostle's order 1 Cor. v., and

[f] Non alium locum qui magis hæresi suæ patrocinari videretur, quam istum [Hebr. vi. 4.] proferebant Novatiani. Et hoc quidem in causa fuit, cur serius hæc epistola apud Latinos habita fuerit pro canonica, quemadmodum ex Eusebio lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. cap. 3.

[*ὅτι γε μὴν τινὲς ἠθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν.*—P. 72. ed. Vales.]

Et lib. vi. cap. 20. [*ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρα Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ Ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν.*—P. 223. ed. Vales.]

Ex Philastrio lib. de Hæres. 41. [De Pœnitentia autem propter Novatianos æque, cap. 89. p. 170. Hamburg. 1721.] ex Hieronymo variis locis cognoscere est. Epiphanius quoque præcipuum Catharorum in eo loco firmamentum fuisse, dum de eadem hæresi loquitur, tradit.—Not. in S. Ambros. de Pœnit., lib. ii. cap. ii. § 6. tom. ii. col. 417. ed. Ben.

[g] Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab Ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro Ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli Apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis arbitrentur: et nihil interesse, cujus sit: quum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie Ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum quidem Ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt, et tamen nos utramque suscipimus.—Tom. ii. col. 608. ed. Ben.

[h] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 27.

[i] See chap. xviii. sect. 15 below, and bk. iii. chap. x.

restored by his indulgence 2 Cor. vii.; because he saw the
61 reconciling of a sinner to the Church by penance as lively described and signified by St. Paul's indulgence there, as by any record of the Church, at such time as it was most in use.

§ 16. And can there remain any doubt of this excommunication because the Church cannot now deliver to Satan "for destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus?" Surely, all the writings of the Apostles do bear witness that the miraculous graces of the Holy Ghost—which they had then, but all Christians see the Church hath not now—served not only to witness the truth of Christianity, but the authority of the Apostles in behalf of it. This authority having taken effect by those ordinances which the Church hath received at their hands, it is no longer requisite that God should bear witness to His own ordinances by such miraculous effects, seeing He doth no longer bear witness to the truth of Christianity by the like. He that believes that whosoever is not in the Church is in the power of Satan, needs no reason why he is delivered to Satan, that is put out of the Church. He that believes it not, is not to be persuaded that there is a power of excommunication granted the Church; but that the Christian faith which the Church preacheth is true, for that, without peradventure, preached the Church[k]. At least till somebody shew us that this reason is insufficient, he must not demand that we give an article of our creed, and all the help to salvation which the communion of the Catholic Church pretendeth, for such an objection as this.

§ 17. Choose now whether you will say, as I say[l], that under the Apostles difficulty was made of re-admitting some sorts of sinners, but never any peremptory order against it—and so that Montanus and Novatianus were schismatics for separating from the Church, when the whole Church was agreed that there was a necessity of it—or look about for a more reasonable sense to assoil the great difficulties of these passages, provided that you offer not violence to common sense and historical

[Reconcilement of sinners not forbidden by canons.]

[k] "The Church did preach, as it hath been partly proved by the premises, that the Apostles, that all Christians by being baptized, were to become members of the Church, and is partly still proving." MSS.

[l] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sectt. 21—28.

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truth, by imagining that so near the Apostles' time there could be so much question about penance, they having neither meant nor ordained any thing about it. To this argument all the most ancient records of the Church, wheresoever mention is made of reconciling by penance, all the penitential canons of later ages, will bear witness.

§ 18. For who can undertake to answer, or rather to obscure, the evidence made in the place afore named[m], that some sinners were refused penance and reconcilement in the first ages of the Church, when we have a whole book of Tertullian[n] contending, with Montanus, to impose a law upon it of re-admitting no adulterers? when we know a whole sect of Novatians[o] that left the Church, that they might re-admit no apostates? As for the penitential canons of later ages, it is manifest to any man that shall peruse and compare them with that which hath been said of the primitive times, that they are nothing else but the abatement of that rigour of discipline which, during the primitive heat and zeal of Christianity, was in force; and therefore as visibly derive themselves from the Apostles, as the corrupt Christianity of this time can derive itself from that which they planted pure from the fountain.

In particular of excluding heretics.

§ 19. But there can be no such evidence of this point[p], or of the whole matter in hand concerning the corporation of the Church, as the excluding of heretics and schismatics out of it. St. Paul, 2 Thess. iii. 6—14, orders them to "withdraw from every brother that walks disorderly, and not according to the tradition, which," saith he, "ye have received from us: to mark them, and not to converse with them, that they may be ashamed." But with the excommunicate, "not so much as to eat," 1 Cor. v. 11. So likewise, having exhorted the

[m] See sect. 11 above.

[n] De Pudicitia, written about A.D. 216.

[o] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 21.

[p] Barrow sums up the argument, and then replies as follows:—"All Churches did exercise a power of excommunication, or of excluding heretics, schismatics, disorderly and scandalous people."

"Ans. 1. Each Church was vested with this power: this doth therefore only infer a resemblance of several Churches in discipline; which we avow.

"Ans. 2. This argueth that all Churches took themselves to be obliged to preserve the same faith, to exercise charity and peace, to maintain the like holiness of conversation; what then? do we deny this?

"Ans. 3. All kingdoms and states do punish offenders against reason and justice, do banish seditious and disorderly persons, do uphold the principles and practice of common honesty and morality; doth it thence follow that all nations must come under one civil government?" — Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. p. 680. Oxford, 1830.

Romans, xvi. 17, "to mark those that cause divisions and scandals beside the doctrine, which," saith he, "ye have received of us, and to avoid them;" he hath thereby given us to understand that he would have Christians abhor all conversation with those that declare themselves heretics.

§ 20. I have in another place[q] allowed St. Hierome's exposition of that text of St. Paul, Titus iii. 9, "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition avoid;" understanding it of schismatics, who, as it follows, do "condemn themselves," when they voluntarily forsake the communion of the Church, which other sinners are excluded from, whether
62 they will or not. But considering there is no admonition against schism, which is declared as soon as it is done, as there may be against heresy, which may lurk before it is professed, I count it as properly said that heretics condemn themselves, whensoever they profess to believe the contrary of that which they professed when they were made Christians, as schismatics, when they excommunicate themselves.

§ 21. The Apostle indeed seems to use a moderate term when he saith, "a man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition avoid:" so the original *παραιτοῦ* is to be translated, according to Cyril's glosses[r], where we read, *παραιτοῦμαι, excuso, recuso, evito,* which last sounds in English, "to avoid." But in Vulcanius's glosses[s], *vito* signifies *φυλάττομαι φρίττω,* "to have in horror," as well as "to take heed," and "to avoid." And it is to be understood that St. Paul prescribes that to Titus, which he intends all his flock should practise; supposing that, being Christians, they would be careful to avoid the infection of those whom their pastors should avoid, because they counted them dangerous, not to themselves, but to their flock. To this purpose St. Jude, 22, 23, *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινόμενοι*—the copy at St. James's reads, *ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους*[t], "reprove some that prefer themselves before others;" but nothing so pertinently to the opposition between pity and terror that follows—"and some truly take pity on,

[q] Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 34.

[r] Lexicon Græco-Latinum Vetus, in calce quorundam Cyrilli Scriptorum inventum, p. 567. ed. Vulcan. Lugd. Bat. 1600.

[s] Onomasticon Vocum Latino-Græcum, ed. Vulcan. Lugd. Batav. 1600.

[t] Vide Variantes Lectiones Græcas Novi Testamenti, p. 34. ap. Walton. Biblia Polyglotta, tom. vi. Londini, 1660.

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putting a difference—or behaving yourselves with a difference towards them—others save through fear"—of the judgment of God, or of the Church—"hating even the garment that is spotted with sin."

[The Gnostics.]

§ 22. It appears that the Gnostics, whom he writes against, could counterfeit themselves Christians, to seduce the simple from the faith to their heresies. Therefore Jude 11, 12: "they perished in the contradiction of Core. They are spots in your feasts of love, banqueting with you, and feeding themselves without fear." And 2 Pet. ii. 14, 18, they are said to bait unstable souls: and "they bait with fleshly concupiscences, through wantonness, those that had truly escaped from them that live in error." They were not afraid to communicate with Christians at their feasts of love—where the Sacrament of the Eucharist was also celebrated—that they might get means and opportunity of seducing the simple to separate with them from the Church. And therefore St. Jude 19: "these are they who separate themselves," as St. Jude saith, that they "perish in the contradiction of Core."

§ 23. So then those that are curable, either by pity or by terror, he exhorts them to save: but when he charges them to hate even the garment that is spotted with sin, he charges them much more to abhor the communion of those that were discovered to be incurable. For with what zeal they taught to avoid the heretics of that time let St. John be judge, 2 John 10, 11: "If any man come to you that brings not this doctrine"—but transgresses it, and abides not in it, as he said just afore—"take him not into your house"—as you do them who bring testimony that they hold the Christian faith—"neither salute him, for he that salutes him is accessory to his evil works." Certainly he requires great demonstration of a mind detesting heresy, that affirms those who afford them the ordinary civility of salutation, to be accessory to their evil works.

§ 24. But it is to be considered that the Apostle speaks of the heresies which Simon Magus and Cerinthus had then set on foot, when he says there, 2 John 7, "Many impostors are gone out into the world who profess not Jesus Christ come in the flesh." For though they wore the name of Christians, yet they professed not that Jesus of Nazareth

then come in the flesh, was the Christ; but Simon Magus[u], and his disciple Menander[v] both pretended themselves to be the Christ: Saturninus[x] and Basilides[y] some of their invisible principles; Valentius[z] one of his æones: and likewise Marcus[a]: Cerinthus[b], the power that came upon Jesus of Nazareth at His baptism, and left Him at His cross: so the rest until Cerdon[c] and Marcion[d], who, pretending that Jesus of Nazareth was not the Son of the God of Israel, denied, by consequence, that Christ was come in the flesh.

§ 25. St. Cyprian, *Epist.* lxxiii.[e], having disputed that these

[u] Οὗτος ὁ Σίμων γόης ἦν. . . . . τὸν πατέρα δὲ ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Σαμαρείταις, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν υἱόν.—S. Epiphan. Hæres. xxi. § i. p. 55.

[v] Ταύτῃ καθεξῆς συνάπτεται Μένανδρός τις, ... ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἔλεγε δύναμιν ἄνωθεν Θεοῦ καταπεπέμφθαι. — *Ib.*, Hæres. xxii. § 1. pp. 60, 61.

[x] Μετὰ τοῦτον Σατορνῖλός τις ἀνέστη . . . . . φάσκει ὁ γόης ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ ἰδέᾳ μόνῃ. τὰ πάντα δὲ ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν πεποιηκέναι, τουτέστι τὸ γεγενῆσθαι, τὸ περιπατεῖν, τὸ ὀπτάνεσθαι, τὸ πεπονθέναι.—Hæres. xxiii. § 1. pp. 62, 63.

[y] Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος πιθανολογία. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ Χριστοῦ ὡς δοκήσει πεφηνότος, ὁμοίως δοξάζει. εἶναι δέ φησιν αὐτὸν φαντασίαν ἐν τῷ φαίνεσθαι, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον, μηδὲ σάρκα εἰληφέναι. . . . . οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν φάσκων πεπονθέναι, ἀλλὰ Σίμωνα τὸν Κυρηναῖον. —Hæres. xxiv. § 3. p. 70.

[z] Ἤδη καὶ Ἀχαμὼθ βούλονται τὸ ὄνομα ἀνατυποῦντες καὶ πλάττειν, ὃν δὴ καὶ Σωτῆρα καλεῖ, ... καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν διὰ Μαρίας, ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος, παρελθόντα. εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω Χριστοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πατρωνυμικῶς καλεῖσθαι φῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνω φῶς, καὶ Χριστὸν διὰ τὸν ἄνω Χριστὸν, καὶ λόγον διὰ τὸν ἄνω Λόγον, καὶ Νοῦν ὡσαύτως Σωτῆρα λέγεσθαι.—Hæres. xxxi. § 4. p. 167.

[a] Ἀπὸ τετράδος γὰρ προῆλθον οἱ Αἰῶνες. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ τετράδι Ἄνθρωπος καὶ Ἐκκλησία, Λόγος καὶ Ζωή· ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν δυνάμεις, φησὶν, ἀποῤῥυεῖσαι, ἐγενεσιούργησαν τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς φανέντα Ἰησοῦν.—Hæres. xxxiv. § 10. p. 243.

[b] . . . . ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄνω Θεοῦ μετὰ τὸ ἀδρυνθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγενημένον κατεληλυθέναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς αὐτὸν, τουτέστι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀποκαλύψαι αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν ἡ δύναμις εἰς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν δυνάμεις ἐπιτετελεκέναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπονθότος τὸ ἐλθὸν ἄνωθεν ἀναπτῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἄνω.—Hæres. xxviii. § 1. pp. 110, 111.

[c] Δύο καὶ οὗτος ἀρχὰς κεκήρυχε τῷ βίῳ. . . . . μὴ εἶναι δε τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενημένον ἐκ Μαρίας, μηδὲ ἐν σαρκὶ πεφηνέναι, ἀλλὰ δοκήσει ὄντα, καὶ δοκήσει πεφηνότα, δοκήσει δε τὰ ὅλα πεποιηκότα.—Hæres. xl. § 1. p. 300.

[d] Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νόμον ἀποβάλλει, καὶ πάντας προφήτας· λέγων ἐκ τοῦ Ἄρχοντος τοῦ τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότος τοὺς τοιούτους προπεφητευκέναι. Χριστὸν δὲ λέγει ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀορατοῦ καὶ ἀκατονομάστου πατρὸς καταβεβηκέναι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλέγχῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ νόμου, καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.—Hæres. xlii. § 4. p. 305. Colon. 1682.

[e] Considerare itaque debemus fidem eorum qui foris credunt, an secundum eandem fidem possint aliquod gratiæ consequi. Nam si fides una est nobis et hæreticis potest esse et gratia una. Si eundem patrem, eundem filium, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, eandem Ecclesiam confitentur nobiscum, Patripassiani, Anthropiani, Valentiniani, Appelletiani, Ophitæ, Marcionitæ, et cæteræ hæreticorum pestes et gladii ac venena subvertendæ veritatis, potest illic et baptisma unum esse, si est et fides una. Ac ne longum sit per hæreses universas decurrere et singularum vel ineptias vel insanias recensere, quia nec delectat id dicere quod aut horret aut pudet nosse, de Marcione interim solo, cujus mentio in epistola a te ad nos transmissa facta est, examinemus an possit baptismatis ejus ratio constare. Dominus enim post resurrectionem. . . . . Insinuat Trini-

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heretics do not hold the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost with the Church, comes down to the Marcionites, strongly arguing that they who made one, God of Israel, another, the Father of our Lord Christ, and His manhood only in appearance, cannot be said to believe in Christ as Christians do. Adding very plainly, that they are those of 63 whom the Apostle speaketh, 1 John iv. 2, that they are of the spirit of Antichrist, and that the spirit of Antichrist hath possessed their breasts.

[Detestation of heresy a duty.]

§ 26. But there is no such commentary upon St. John's words as that which is related of him by Irenæus iii. 3.[f] from the mouth of Polycarpus, that he would not endure to be in the bath with Cerinthus, the enemy of God's truth. And of Polycarpus, that being desired by Marcion to own him, he answered, that he did own him for the first-born of Satan. Which actions Irenæus[g] thus construeth: *Tantum Apostoli et horum discipuli habuerunt timorem, ut ne verbo tenus communicarent alicui eorum qui adulteraverunt veritatem: quemadmodum et Paulus ait; Hæreticum autem hominem post unam correptionem devita: sciens quoniam perversus est qui est talis, et est a seipso damnatus.* "So great fear had the Apostles and disciples not to communicate so far as in words with any of those who corrupted the truth: as Paul also saith; 'A man that is an heretic, after one reproof, and a second, avoid: knowing that such a one is perverted, and condemned by himself.'" Where you see, it is not I, but Irenæus that expoundeth those words of St. Paul to this purpose.

§ 27. The same Irenæus iii. 4[h]: *Cerdon autem qui ante Marcionem, et hic sub Hygino, qui fuit octavus Episcopus, sœpe in Ecclesiam veniens et exhomologesim faciens, sic consummavit, modo quidem latenter docens, modo vero exhomologesim faciens, modo vero ab aliquibus traductus in his quæ docebat male, et*

tatem, cujus sacramento gentes baptizarentur. Nunquid hanc Trinitatem Marcion tenet? Numquid eundem asserit quem et nos patrem Creatorem? Numquid eundem novit filium Christum de Maria Virgine natum, ... Longe alia est apud Marcionem sed et apud cæteros hæreticos fides.—Pp. 130, 131. ed. Ben.

[f] Καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκούτες αὐτοῦ, ὅτι Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς, ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον, ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπών· φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου, τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνι ποτὲ εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι, καὶ φήσαντι, ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς; ἀπεκρίθη, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.—P. 177. ed. Ben.

[g] Ibidem.

[h] Pp. 178, 179. ed. Ben.

abstentus est a religiosorum hominum conventu. "But this same Cerdon also that was before Marcion under Hyginus who was the eighth Bishop, many times addressing himself to the Church, and confessing, ended accordingly; sometimes covertly teaching his heresy, sometimes confessing: and sometimes, being detected by some in those bad things which he taught, was excluded the assembly of the religious."

[The case of Marcion.]

§ 28. Tertullian, *de Præscript.*, cap. XXX.[i], informs us that Marcion, though he was at the first refused penance by the Church of Rome—as I shall shew you out of Epiphanius[k]—yet afterwards was cast out of the Church there—which supposeth him admitted afore—with Valentinus the father of another heresy, and having been received once and again, at the last for good and all. For having obtained to be readmitted upon this condition, that he should reduce with himself all that he had seduced, at length he died before he was able to accomplish the same. These things coming to pass so soon after the Apostles as they did, and the same course being held in separating those heretics from the Church which sprung up in their several ages afterwards, there is no room left for any pretence, that the Church never had power to do that which there never was any time that she did not do.

§ 29. For it is to be noted that these heads of heresies being condemned and cast out of the Church in which they first appeared, and which they attempted to divide, were thenceforth disowned by all Churches, being certified of the proceeding that had passed against them upon the place. And therefore Vincentius Lirinensis, *Commonitorio* i.[l], expounding St. Paul's words, Gal. i. 8, 9, "Let him be anathema;" *Anathema sit, inquit, id est separatus, segregatus, exclusus, ne unius ovis dirum contagium innoxium gregem Christi, venenata permistione contaminet.* "That is," saith he,

[i] Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus nauclerus, Stoicæ studiosus? Ubi tunc Valentinus Platonicæ sectator? . . . . . ob inquietam semper eorum curiositatem, qua fratres quoque vitiabant, semel et iterum ejecti, Marcion quidem cum ducentis sestertiis suis, quæ Ecclesiæ intulerat, novissime in perpetuum discidium relegati, venena doctrinarum suarum disseminaverunt. Postmodum Marcion pœnitentiam confessus, cum conditioni datæ sibi occurrit, ita pacem recepturus, si cæteros quoque quos perditioni erudisset, Ecclesiæ restitueret, morte præventus est.—P. 336. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[k] Chap. x. sect. 7.

[l] Cap. viii. p. 311. Pedeponti, 1742.

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"let him be separated, set aside, shut out, lest the direful contagion of one sheep with any mixture of poison stain the innocent flock of Christ." And again afterwards, handling the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 20, "'Keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane novelties of words;' What is it to avoid? 'With such an one not so much as to eat.' What is avoid? 'If any come to you,' saith he[m], 'and bringeth not this doctrine, receive him not home nor bid him God speed.'" Where you see these are none of my collections gathered out of the Apostle's words, but that exposition of them which the practice of the Catholic Church inferreth.

CHAPTER X. 64

EVIDENCE OF THE APOSTLES' ACT FROM THE EFFECT OF IT, IN PRESERVING THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH. OF THE BUSINESS OF MARCION AND MONTANUS. THAT ABOUT KEEPING EASTER. THAT OF THE NOVATIANS. OF REBAPTIZING HERETICS, OF PAULUS SAMOSATENUS, OF DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS, AND ARIUS. OF COMMUNICATORY LETTERS, AND THE INTERCOURSE OF THE CHURCH UNDER AND AFTER THE APOSTLES.

Evidence of the Apostles' act from the effect of it, in preserving the unity of the Church.

THIS is indeed the true demonstration and evidence from the effect[n], that the will of God and not the consent of men is the ground upon which the corporation of the Church subsisteth. The whole number of Christians dispersed over all the empire, and beyond the bounds of it, continued for divers hundred years in one communion, and in the unity of one Church; those that endeavoured to alter the rule of faith, or to impose such laws as were found by the greatest part not

[m] 2 St. John 10.

[n] Barrow sums up the argument thus, and then replies as follows:—

"The effectual preservation of unity in the primitive Church, is alleged as a strong argument of its being united in one government."

"Ans. 1. That unity of faith and charity and discipline, which we admit, was indeed preserved, not by influence of any one sovereign authority—whereof there is no mention—but by the concurrent vigilance of Bishops, declaring and disputing against any novelty in doctrine or practice which did start up; by their adherence to the doctrine asserted in Scripture, and confirmed by tradition; by their aiding and abetting one another as confederates against errors and disorders creeping in.

"Ans. 2. The many differences which arose concerning the observation of Easter, the rebaptization of heretics, the reconciliation of revolters and scandalous criminals; concerning the decision of causes and controversies, &c., do more clearly shew that there was no common standing jurisdiction in the Church: for had there been such an one, recourse would have been had thereto; and such differences by its authority would easily have been quashed."—Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 681, 682. Oxford, 1830.

to stand with the end for which the Church was founded, being, by the consent of the whole, excluded the communion of it for heretics and schismatics.

[Christianity in danger of being lost by divisions.]

§ 2. He that says this was not the work of God, or the means of effecting it none of His declared will, why should not he say the like of Christianity? Indeed since the council of Ephesus, the Churches of Mesopotamia and Assyria are fallen from the unity of the whole; since the council of Chalcedon, those of Egypt and Ethiopia. Since that, the Eastern Churches, under the patriarch of Constantinople, have been divided from the Western under the Pope of Rome. And these from one another into so many parties since the reformation, that we are now come to dispute whether they ought to be united or not. That ever they will be is so hopeless, that no man would undertake to dispute that they should be, were it possible to preserve that little of Christianity that remains without re-uniting the Church. I allege here the most eminent passages that fell out in the Church, from the Apostles to Constantine, to shew that it is a question whether the evidence be more, that by God's appointment, there was from the beginning, and ought to be always one Catholic Church, or the hope less that ever it will be so again.

§ 3. I cannot begin with a better evidence than that of Irenæus, because it contains the effect of the aforesaid ordinances of the Apostles, for the separating of the heresies set on foot by Simon Magus and Cerinthus, from the communion of the Church, that the unity thereof might be preserved, by remaining distinct from them. We understand by reading his first book, that Basilides at Alexandria, Saturninus at Antiochia, Valentinus, first in Egypt, then in Cyprus, afterwards at Rome, Cerinthus in Asia and elsewhere, others in several parts of the world, endeavoured to adulterate that Christianity which the Apostles had delivered. That they were so unanimously rejected and excluded out of the society of the Church from East to West, that he is able to affirm, i. 3, that though dispersed all over the world, yet it preserves the doctrine once preached, as if it dwelt all in one house, believing the same faith, as if it had the same soul and heart, and preaching and teaching the same, as if it had but one

BOOK I. mouth. And can common sense imagine, that the remotest parts of the world could remain united to one another, separated from heresies sprung in the remotest parts of it—which they could not have intelligence of but by communication of it with those parts of it where they sprung—without that continual correspondence wherein the actual communion of the Church consisteth?

§ 4. But the words of Irenæus[o] are so vigorous, that I cannot leave them out here, as they stand in his original Greek. *Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἱδρυμέναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ* 65
κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει, καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον· οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλάττωσεν τὴν παράδοσιν. μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν, ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἠλαττόνησε. The unity therefore of the Church was visible; otherwise it had been senseless for Irenæus to assume it, as an evidence of the truth of that faith the unity whereof became visible, by the unity of the Church which professed it.

§ 5. Thus then writeth Irenæus. "This preaching, and this faith the Church having received, as I said afore, though dispersed over all the world, carefully keepeth as if it inhabited one house: and believeth these things alike, as if it had one soul and one heart; and harmoniously preacheth and teacheth and delivereth them as if it had but one mouth. For there be divers languages in the world, but the tradition

[o] Lib. i. cap. x. § 2. pp. 49, 50. ed. Ben.

signifies the same. Nor do the Churches seated in the Germanies believe or deliver otherwise, nor those in the Spains, nor among the Gauls, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Africa, nor those that are seated in the middle parts of the world. But as the creature of God, the sun, is one and the same in all the world, so shineth the preaching of the truth every where, enlightening all men that will come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will any of those that rule in the Churches, though powerful in speaking, say things diverse from these, for the disciple is not above his master, nor he that is weak in speech abate of that which is delivered. For to the same faith, neither he that is able to say much of it addeth, nor he that is able to say little abateth of it."

§ 6. He that acknowledges this to be God's doing, must of necessity acknowledge the means of it—the concurrence of all Churches to the maintenance of unity in the same faith, by disowning those that pretended to break it—not left to man's will, but enjoined by God's. And Irenæus's[p] instance in the Church of Rome serves to good purpose to make out this evidence. For all Churches—that is, as Irenæus says, Christians of all Churches—having necessarily recourse to Rome for all occasions, because it was the seat of the empire, might there inform themselves and their Churches, of the perverse doctrines that might be on foot, and of the consent of the Churches in refusing the same.

Of the business of Marcion,

§ 7. In the next place, I will not forget the relation of Epiphanius[q] concerning Marcion, in the beginning of his heresy, because it is next in time and of great consequence. He being put out of the Church by his father, Bishop of Sinope in Pontus, and making suit to be admitted by the Church of Rome, received this answer; that they could not do it without his father's consent, because the faith is one, and the unity the same.

§ 8. Compare herewith the proceeding of Synesius[r] against Andronicus, *Ep.* lviii., though so much distant in time, which in the first book *de Synedriis Hebræorum*, p. 304[s],

[p] See chap. viii. sects. 6, 7.

[q] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 31. note h; chap. ii. sect. 23. note y.

[r] See Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 66. note a.

[s] Ea ita se habet, satis quidem imperiosa et cothurnata.—Lib. i. cap. x. p. 164. Amstel. 1679. The text refers to the first edition. Lond. 1650.

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is said to be of a high strain. He saith, that if any Church neglecting his Church of Ptolemais as a poor Church, being the Church of a small city, shall receive to communion those whom it had excommunicated, he shall be thereby guilty of dividing the Church, which Christ will have to be one; and tell me how this proceeding differs from that which, in Marcion's case, Epiphanius says was done at Rome so near the Apostles. Certainly, if one Church should receive into communion those whom another Church excommunicates, there could remain no unity in the whole Church, because no distinction from those that are not of the Church. When therefore it appears that the Church held it for a rule from the beginning not to do so, shall not this be evidence that the reason is that, which was alleged to Marcion at Rome, which Synesius alleges; to wit, the unity of the Church?

and Montanus.

§ 9. For the same reason, Montanus[t], having as it seems by pretended revelations and inspirations—such as at that time there can be no question but the Church was graced with—brought the Churches of Phrygia to his intent, but being rejected by the Churches of Asia, went or sent to Rome, to induce that Church to undertake and prescribe the same rules to all that adhered unto it. For why otherwise should 66
he labour for the consent of that Church, before others, but in hope that, having induced it to receive his rules, the authority thereof might induce other Churches to do the like, because they found it necessary for them to hold correspondence with the Church of Rome.

[Evidence of unity from the practice of all Christians.]

§ 10. Now, I beseech you, were all Christians utterly out of their five senses to contend about the communion of the Church, if there were no such thing in point of fact? Were they all from the beginning possessed with a frenzy, that they were bound to maintain it by voiding all questions that might

[t] Τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τοῦ προφητεύειν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων· πλεῖσται γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἄλλαι παραδοξοποιΐαι τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος εἰσέτι τότε κατὰ διαφόρους ἐκκλησίας ἐκτελούμεναι, πίστιν παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κἀκείνους προφητεύειν παρεῖχον· καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων, ἀῤθις οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοὶ, τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων, εὐλαβῆ καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην ὑποτάττουσιν· ἐκθέμενοι δὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς· ἃς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι ὑπάρχοντες, τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς διεχάραξαν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα πρεσβεύοντες. — Euseb. Hist. Eccles., lib. v. cap. iii. p. 168. ed. Vales. Paris, 1659.

impeach it, if there were no such obligation in point of right? Is it not plain that the issue of such questions was this, whether the unity of the Church, or the advantage of such rules to the common cause of Christianity weighed most? How is Tertullian otherwise counted a Montanist, that is, as I suppose, a schismatic?

[How Tertullian became a schismatic.]

§ 11. We may believe Tertullian, *contr. Prax.* cap. i.[u], in a matter which all Christians at Rome then might know, when he tells us that Zephyrinus, then Bishop of Rome, was about to admit unto his communion the Churches of Asia and Phrygia that had acknowledged Montanus and his prophets and prophecies. Though Pope Soter afore Zephyrinus, had written against Montanus, as well as Apollonius Bishop of Ephesus, if we believe Sirmondus's *Prædestinatus, Hær.* xxvi.[x] When he says, that afterwards the contrary was resolved, upon informations brought from Asia by Praxeas an heretic; that which appears, that the Montanists were disclaimed, we must admit; that which appears not, upon what information it was done, we need not dispute. Tertullian hereupon draws after him a company which called themselves a Church at Carthage, and subsisted there after Tertullian, till they were reduced by St. Augustine, as we learn by Sirmondus's *Prædestinatus, Hær.* lxxxvi.[y], and St. Augustine *de Hæresibus*[z]. This makes Tertullian a schismatic; that,

[u] Nam iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romanæ humo, et alias inquietus: insuper de jactatione martyrii inflatus, ob solum et simplex et breve carceris tædium; quando etsi corpus suum tradidisset exurendum, nihil profecisset, dilectionem Dei non habens, cujus charismata quoque expugnavit. Nam idem tunc Episcopum Romanum agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ, et ex ea agnitione pacem Ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et Ecclesiis eorum asseverando, et præcessorum ejus auctoritates defendendo, coegit et literas pacis revocare jam emissas, et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare. Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, prophetiam expulit, et hæresim intulit, Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit.—P. 844. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[x] Scripsit contra eos librum sanctus Soter Papa urbis, et Apollonius Ephesiorum antistes. Contra quos scripsit Tertullianus presbyter Carthaginiensis.—Sirmondi Opp., tom. i. col. 475. Paris. 1696.

[y] Tertullianistas olim a Sotere Papa Romano damnatos legimus . . . . Tertullianus autem fuit civis et presbyter Carthaginiensis. Opuscula eloquentissima et ferventia in defensione edidit veritatis. Hic apud Carthaginem basilicam habuit, ubi populi ad eum conveniebant. Quæ basilica usque ad Aurelium Episcopum fuit. Agente enim Augustino Hipponiensi Episcopo, et rationabiliter cum eis disputante, conversi sunt. Ecclesiamque suam sanctæ Ecclesiæ contulerunt.—Sirmond. Opp., tom. i. coll. 501, 502. Paris. 1696.

[z] Cataphryges sunt, quorum auctores fuerunt, Montanus tanquam paraclitus, et duæ prophetissæ ipsius, Prisca et Maximilla. His nomen provincia

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rather than rest content with those rules which the rest of the Church satisfied themselves with, he departed from the unity of it. Otherwise, those blasphemies, for which the followers of Montanus are counted heretics, preferring their own revelations above and against those of the Apostles, he is not chargeable with.

That about keeping Easter.

§ 12. Proceed we now to the business of keeping Easter, and the debate about it, between Victor Bishop of Rome and the Churches of Asia: these resolutely adhering to the custom, which in all appearance they had received from their founder St. John, to keep the passion when the Jews kept it, that is, upon the fifteenth day of the moon that was next the equinoctial, and the resurrection the third after that; the Church of Rome, and almost all Churches beside, keeping the passion on the Friday, the resurrection on the Lord's day following. The one aiming at winning the Jews, when it was first set on foot, the other, to protest against them as incorrigible. It is well enough known how Victor, intending to withdraw his communion from the Churches of Asia, was reduced to tolerate them by the persuasions of Irenæus, then Bishop of Lyons[a].

[Influence of Irenæus at Rome.]

§ 13. Certainly, had not the communion of the Church been in possession and practice at that time, the Bishop of Rome had been a madman to think that refusing it would be the means to reduce those of Asia to his judgment and practice. If this possession and practice had no ground of right, is it possible that none of either party should discover the sandy foundation of the dispute, and persuade the parties—which were so much in love with their own way on both sides—to give no heed to other Churches, the communion of the Church having no ground, and therefore being of no consequence? What meant Irenæus so to trouble himself to persuade Victor to hold communion with those of Asia,

Phrygia dedit, quia ibi extiterunt, ibique vixerunt: et etiam nunc in eisdem partibus populos habent.—Cap. xxvi. tom. viii. col. 10. ed. Ben.

[a] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προεστὼς Βίκτωρ, ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμνειν ὡς ἑτεροδοξούσας, τῆς κοινῆς ἑνώσεως πειρᾶται· καὶ στηλιτεύει γε διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀκοινωνήτους ἅρδην πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς· ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσί γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταῦτ' ἤρεσκετο. ἀντιπαρακελεύονται δῆτα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλήσιον ἑνώσεως καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν. φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναί, πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως . . . παραινεῖ.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 192. ed. Vales.

though not condescending to keep Easter by the same rule, but that he saw if the Church of Rome should break with the Churches of Asia, that he must break either with the one or the other of them, who desired to hold communion with both? Were the disciples of the Apostles, or at least of their disciples, cozened into a human tradition of the unity of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, when he so earnestly laboured, that holding with the Church of Rome, he might not be constrained to forbear the intercourse which, for the advancement of Christianity, he held with the Churches of Asia?

That of the Novatians, of rebaptizing heretics.

67 § 14. But St. Cyprian's time affords divers passages of great consequence; the schism of the Novatians in the first place. It is a thing manifest by Eusebius's Histories, vi. 45, 46, vii. 4, 5, that the Church of Antiochia, together with the Churches of Pontus—which then seem to have either resorted to Antiochia, or in consideration of neighbourhood to have held great correspondence with that Church—and Cilicia, made very great difficulty in admitting the election of Cornelius, and condemning the Novatians, for refusing to receive into communion those who in time of persecution had sacrificed to idols, and so renounced the Christian faith. In time, by the intercession of Dionysius of Alexandria, moved it seems with the consent of the rest of the Church, they were also induced to disclaim the Novatians, and to concur to restore the unity of the Church, which for the time had remained in suspense.

[The Church's consent to acts done irregularly makes them valid.]

§ 15. And it is a thing very much to be observed, which the council at Antiochia *in Encæniis Dominicæ aureæ* pleads to the Church of Rome, in the dispute they had with Pope Julius, about admitting the acts of it, in Sozomenus iii. 8[b], and Socrates ii. 15. They had taken upon them to make a new provision, in that which the great council at Nicæa had taken order in afore; which was in effect to make void the acts of that council. The Pope, I suppose, had reason to except, that this could not be done without his consent—including in it the consent of the Churches which adhered to him—unless we imagine that the synod of Antiochia, being but a part of those who had decreed at the council of Nicæa, had power to dissolve the acts of the whole. What is it then

[b] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 32. note j.

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§ 16. And indeed, what made the second general council of Constantinople under Theodosius to be general—none having appeared at it for the Western Churches—but the consent of Damasus and his synod *ex post facto*, the rest of the West adhering to the same. Which if it be so, I do not think I need any other evidence, that from St. Cyprian's time all Christians did believe that they are bound to maintain themselves in communion with the Church, when they believe that the consent thereof is able to do such acts as these.

§ 17. I cannot here omit the words of Dionysius of Alexandria, out of a letter to Novatianus, recorded by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 45[c]: *εἰ ἄκων ὡς φὴς ἦχθης, δείξεις ἐὰν ἀναχωρήσῃς ἑκών. ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γινομένης, ἡ ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μείζων. ἐκεῖ μέν γαρ ὑπὲρ μιᾶς τις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ. καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ πείσαιο ἢ βιάσαιο τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἐλθεῖν, μεῖζον ἔσται σοι τοῦ σφάλματος τὸ κατόρθωμα. . . . εἰ δὲ ἀπειθούντων ἀδυνατοίης, σώζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχήν.* "If you were carried away against your will, as you say, you may shew that by returning with your will. For you should have endured any thing, rather than smite asunder the Church of God. And to suffer martyrdom, rather than divide the Church, had been no less glory, than rather than commit idolatry, but greater in my judgment. For there, a man suffers martyrdom for his own soul alone, but here, for the whole Church. And now, if you can persuade or constrain the brethren to return to concord, your fall will not be so great as that exploit. But if they will not be ruled, and you cannot, by all means save your own soul."

§ 18. It is easy to observe that the same Churches which

[c] P. 247. ed. Vales.

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had made so much difficulty in disclaiming the Novatians, were they who joined with St. Cyprian in standing upon the rebaptizing of those that had been baptized by heretics. As appears not only by Firmilianus's Epistle to St. Cyprian[d], but also by Dionysius of Alexandria, *de Baptismo*, iii., alleged by Eusebius, vii. 7[e], even before St. Cyprian. Whereby we see how much Eusebius contradicts himself, when he says, vii. 3[f], that St. Cyprian was the first that called in question the tradition received in that case.

[The strength of the Novatian heresy.]

§ 19. In this business, the nineteenth canon of the council of Nicæa[g] makes it evident that neither St. Cyprian's party nor their adversaries altogether prevailed. For it is there enacted that those who had been baptized by the Samosatenians should be baptized again. And must not the same needs hold much more of the Gnostics, and of almost all the rest of those heresies which St. Cyprian nameth in his seventy-third Epistle[h]? Besides, it is manifest by the second council at Arles, can. xvii.[i], that of Laodicea, can. vii. and viii.[k], Gennadius *de dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. lii.[l], and others, that the

[How the question it involves was settled.]

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[d] Hæretico enim sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere, ita nec baptizare, nec quicquam sancte nec spiritaliter gerere, quando alienus sit a spiritali et deifica sanctitate. Quod totum nos jampridem in Iconio, qui Phrygiæ locus est, collecti in unum convenientibus ex Galatia et Cilicia et cæteris proximis regionibus, confirmavimus tenendum contra hæreticos firmiter et vindicandum, cum a quibusdam de ista re dubitaretur.—S. Cyprian. Opp., ep. lxxv. p. 145. ed. Ben.

[e] Ὅτι μὴ νῦν οἱ ἐν Ἀφρικῇ μόνον τοῦτο παρεισήγαγον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπους, ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτάταις ἐκκλησιαῖς· καὶ ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν Ἰκονίῳ καὶ Συνάδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦτο ἔδοξεν. ὧν τὰς βουλὰς ἀνατρέπων, εἰς ἔριν καὶ φιλονεικίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένω.—Pp. 253, 254. ed. Vales.

[f] Πρῶτος τῶν τότε Κυπριανὸς τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παροικίας ποιμὴν, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ λουτροῦ πρότερον τῆς πλάνης ἀποκαθηραμένους, προσίεσθαι δεῖν ἡγεῖτο.—P. 251. ed. Vales.

[g] Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἶτα προσφυγόντων τῇ Καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅρος ἐκτέθειται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος.—A.D. 325. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 41. ed. Venet.

[h] See chap. ix. sect. 25.

[i] Bonosiacos autem ex eodem errore venientes, quos sicut Arianos baptizari in Trinitate manifestum est, si interrogati fidem nostram ex toto corde confessi fuerint, cum Chrismate et manus impositione in Ecclesia recipit. —The preceding canon being as follows: Photinianos, sive Paulianistas, secundum patrum statuta baptizari oportere. A.D. 452.—Labbei, tom. v. col. 4. ed. Venet.

[k] Περὶ, τοῦ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αἱρέσεων, τοῦτ' ἔστι, Ναυατιανῶν. ἢ τοι Φωτεινιανῶν ἢ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατιτῶν, ἐπιστρεφομένους, ἤ τε πιστοὺς τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνοις μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, πρὶν ἀναθεματίσωσι πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἐν ᾗ κατείχοντο . . . . . οὕτω κοινωνεῖν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ.—Can. vii.

Περὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν λεγομένων Φρυγῶν ἐπιστρέφοντας, ... τοὺς τοιούτους μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας κατηχεῖσθαί τε καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.—Can. viii. circ. A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1532. ed. Venet.

[l] Baptisma unum est, sed in Ecclesia, ubi una fides est, ubi in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti datur. Et ideo si qui apud illos hæreticos baptizati sunt, qui in Sanctæ Trinitatis confessione baptizant, et veniunt ad

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practice of the Churches, after this dispute was ended, was not every where the same.

§ 20. And, which is most remarkable, not only the great council of Arles, can. viii.[m], makes a rule for the African Churches—which the first council at Carthage followeth—to the like purpose with that of the council of Nicæa; but also Optatus, lib. i. cap. x., demonstrates that he rebaptized the Sabellians, which the foresaid rule alloweth not. Whereby it appeareth that the extreme opinions held by Steven of Rome, that none were to be rebaptized, and by St. Cyprian that all, were moderated by the succeeding practice of the Churches, though diverse in divers parts of the Church. Now let me ask by what means this moderation came to prevail over that vehemence of contention which you see the parties transported with in St. Cyprian's Epistles. What could it be but the conscience of that obligation which both parties owned, to preserve the unity of the Church, and the respect of those other Churches that were not engaged in the dispute as they were?

Of Paulus Samosatenus.

§ 21. The business of Paulus Samosatenus is of the same time. Was the synod of Antiochia mad when they wrote the letter which you may read in Eusebius vii. 30.[n] in the name

nos, recipiantur quidem ut baptizati, ne Sanctæ Trinitatis invocatio vel confessio annulletur: sed doceantur integre et instruantur, quo sensu Sanctæ Trinitatis mysterium in Ecclesia teneatur: et si consentiunt credere, vel acquiescunt confiteri, purgati jam fidei integritate confirmentur manus impositione. Si vero parvuli sunt vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt juxta morem baptizandi: et sic manus impositione et chrismate communiti, Eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur. Illos autem qui non Sanctæ Trinitatis invocatione apud hæreticos baptizati sunt, et veniunt ad nos, baptizari debere pronunciamus, non rebaptizari. Neque enim credendum est, eos fuisse baptizatos, qui non in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti juxta regulam a Domino positam tincti sunt: ut sunt Pauliani, Procliani, Borboritæ, Siphori, qui nunc vocantur Bonosiani, Photiniani, Montanitæ qui et Priscilliani et Manichæi, variaque impietatis germina: vel cæteræ istorum originis sive ordinis pestes, quæ duo principia sibi ignota introducunt, ut Cerdon et Marcion: vel contraria, ut Manichæus: vel tria et barbara, ut Setianus et Theodosius: vel multa, ut Valentinus: vel Christum hominem fuisse absque Deo, ut Cerinthus, Ebion, Artemon, et Photinus. Ex istis, inquam, si qui ad nos venerint, non requirendum ab iis utrum baptizati sint, an non, sed hoc tantum, si credant Ecclesiæ fidem, et baptizentur Ecclesiastico baptismate.—Pp. 29—31. Hamburg. 1614.

[m] De Afris quod propria lege sua utuntur ut rebaptizent, placuit ut si ad Ecclesiam aliquis de hæresi venerit, interrogent eum symbolum, et si perviderint eum in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto esse baptizatum, manus ei tantum imponatur, ut accipiat Spiritum Sanctum. Quod si interrogatus non responderit hanc Trinitatem, baptizetur. A.D. 314.—Labbei, tom. i. coll. 1451, 1452. ed. Venet.

[n] Μίαν δὴ οὖν ἐκ κοινῆς γνώμης οἱ ἐπὶ ταυτὸ συγκεκροτημένοι ποιμένες διαχαράξαντες ἐπιστολὴν εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ

of the Churches represented in that synod, to the rest of the Churches in Christendom, signifying the sentence of deposition pronounced against Samosatenus, and requiring them to join in it? If it be madness to think them so mad as to summon the rest of the Churches upon an obligation which they did not acknowledge, what shall it be to think that this obligation was but imaginary, or at least voluntarily contracted, not enacted by the will of our Lord declared by His Apostles?

[The emperor executes the decree of the spiritual power.]

§ 22. The emperor Aurelian being appealed to by the council[o], to cause Samosatenus to be put out of his Bishop's house by force, who maintained himself in it by force, against the sentence of the synod, decreed that possession should be given to him whom the Christian Bishops of Italy and Rome should acknowledge for Bishop, by writing to him under that title. Certainly this heathen emperor, in referring the execution of the synod's decree to the consent of those remarkable parts of the Church—whereupon the consent of the rest might reasonably be presumed—understood the constitution of the Church by his five senses, better than those learned Christians[p] of our time, who argue seriously, that this Paulus Samosatenus was not excommunicated by the synod of Antiochia, but by the emperor Aurelian. For this is the

τε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου Διονυσίου καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπὶ πάσας διαπέμπονται τὰς ἐπαρχίας . . . . ἐπί τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ταῦτ' ἐπιλέγουσιν. ἠναγκάσθημεν οὖν ἀντιτασσόμενον αὐτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ μὴ εἴκοντα ἐκκηρύξαντες, ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησία καταστῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ὡς πεπείσμεθα . . . . Δόμνον ἅπασι τοῖς πρέπουσιν ἐπισκόπῳ καλοῖς κεκοσμημένον. ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν, ὅπως τούτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα.—Pp. 279, 282. ed. Vales.

[o] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος· βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρηλιανὸς αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφε. τούτοις γεῖμαι προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστέλλοιεν.—*Ib.*, p. 282. ed. Vales.

[p] Qua de re exemplum habetur insigne in Paulo Samosatensi Episcopo Antiocheno synodo in Antiochena sub Aureliano Augusto seu anno Christi 270 excommunicato. . . . . .

Parere heic noluit Paulus nec Ecclesiam Antiochenam Domno successori ejus destinatam relinquere. Cum igitur coercendi potestas tunc nulla alia esset eis qui eum sic excommunicârant, ab Aureliano Augusto impetrarunt ipsi ut is eum Ecclesia abigeret. Id est plane, ut is sententiam excommunicationis, quantum ad personam hominis, itidem ferret atque executioni coercendo mandaret. Atque ita *ὑπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας, secularis imperii auctoritate*—sed non sine ea implorata ab Episcopis quibus obedire nolebat Paulus—*ab Ecclesia extruditur*, et plane, qua ab auctoritate illa fieri potuit, suadentibus illis, excommunicatur, quod apertius constat ex Theodoreti hac de re verbis; . . . . . Resecari igitur voluit Aurelianus eum a suorum consortio, quod plane erat tunc excommunicari, nec solum ex ipsa Ecclesia Antiochena ejici.—Selden, de Synedr., lib. i. cap. xiii. p. 274. Amstel. 1679.

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course by which all the acts of the whole Church ever came in force, those parts of the Church which were not present at the doing of them concurring *ex post facto*, to enact them, and the civil power to grant the execution of them by secular power.

Of Dionysius Alexandrinus and Arius.

§ 23. Perhaps it will not be fit here to let pass that which Athanasius relates, *Epistola de sententia Dionysii Alexandrini*[q], that this Dionysius, writing against Sabellius, gave occasion to the Bishops of Pentapolis—who resorted to the Church of Alexandria, as we see by the sixth canon of Nicæa[r]—to suspect him of that which afterwards was the heresy of Arius. And that Dionysius of Rome being made acquainted by them, with a matter of that consequence to the whole Church, this Dionysius wrote him an apology, on purpose to give satisfaction of his faith, wherein St. Athanasius hath great cause to triumph, that the heresy of Arius, which arose afterwards, is no less condemned than that of Sabellius presently on foot.

§ 24. Grant we, that it was an office of Christian charity to tender this satisfaction, where it was become so requisite; the example of Samosatenus shews that their address tended to question if not to displace their Bishop, by the authority of the rest of the Church, engaging the consent of his own, had he been discovered to harbour the contrary heresy to that of Sabellius. And indeed what was the rise of all those contentions about Arius, that succeeded in the Church after the 69
council of Nicæa, but this question, whether Arius should be re-admitted one of the presbyters of the Church at Alexandria, or remain excommunicate.

§ 25. And those truly that do not believe there is any

[q] Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἐπίσκοπου μαθόντος περὶ τῶν ἐν Πενταπόλει, καὶ ζήλῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας γράψαντος, καθὰ προεῖπον, κατὰ τῆς αἱρέσεως Σαβελλίου τὴν πρὸς Εὐφράνορα καὶ Ἀμμώνιον ἐπιστολὴν, τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδελφῶν, φρονοῦντες μὲν ὀρθῶς, μὴ ἐρωτήσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν, ἵνα παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθωσι πῶς ἔγραψεν, ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ κατειρήκασιν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ Ῥώμης· κἀκεῖνος ἀκούσας, ἔγραψεν ὁμοῦ κατά τε τῶν τὰ Σαβελλίου δοξαζόντων, καὶ κατὰ τῶν φρονούντων ταῦτα ἅπερ καὶ Ἄρειος λέγων ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ... ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Διονυσίῳ δηλῶσαι, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκασι κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀντέγραψεν εὐθὺς αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τὰ βίβλια ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀπολογίας . . . . . ἔπειτα Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀπολογουμένου περὶ ἧς ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολῆς, φαίνεται καὶ αὐτὸς μήτε οὕτως φρονήσας, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, μήτε ὅλως τὴν Ἀρείου κακοδοξίαν ἐσχηκώς.—Tom. i. p. 252. ed. Ben.

[r] Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 36. ed. Venet.

Church, but a congregation that assembles together for the service of God[s], must needs think all Christendom stark mad for so many years together as they laboured by so many synods to attain an agreement through the Church, in this and in the cause of Athanasius that depended upon it. But those[t] who believe the power of the Church to escheat to the state when it declares itself Christian, must think the emperors Constantine and Valens mad, when they put themselves to that trouble and charge of so many synods, to obtain that consent of the Church which, in point of right, their own power might have commanded, without all that ado.

§ 26. In the decrees of divers of those many synods that were held about this business, you shall find that those Churches, which the said decrees are sent to, are charged not to write to the Bishops whom they depose. That is to say, not to give them the style of Bishops, not to deal with them about any thing concerning the Church, but to hold them as cut off from the Church. Just as the emperor Aurelian afore[u], commanded possession to be delivered to him whom the Bishops of Italy and Rome should write to as Bishop. This little circumstance expresses the means by which the communion of the Church was maintained. To wit, by continual intercourse of letters and messengers, from Churches to Churches, whereby the one understood the proceedings of the other, and being satisfied of the reason of them, gave force and execution to them within their own bodies.

Of communicatory letters.

§ 27. And this course, being visibly derived from the practice of the Apostles[x], sufficeth to evidence the unity of the

[s] "To let pass the strict signification of the word Church, and also the sundry acceptations of it; concerning true visible Churches, the Nonconformists say that there are none but particular ordinary congregations; such Churches and such only, they affirm God erected, but as for national, provincial, diocesan, they are now of human institution, and altogether unjustifiable by the Scriptures. The author, institutor, and framer of every true visible Church is only Christ: for He alone hath the disposing of the word, vouchsafing it to some, and denying it to others, and it is His Spirit which converteth men's souls, and begetteth them to everlasting life, and so they become stones for this building."—Canne's Necessity of Separation, chap. iv. pp. 164, 165. printed, 1634.

[t] See chap. xi. sect. 11.

[u] Sect. 22.

[x] Barrow sums up the argument thus, and then replies as follows:—"All Churches did maintain intercourse and commerce with each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, synodical epistles."

"Ans. 1. This doth signify that the Churches did by admonition, advise and help one another in maintenance

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Church established by the exercise of that communication which maintained it. When we see the Apostles, from the Churches in which they were for the time resident, date letters to other Churches signifying the communion of those Churches one with another, by the communion of all with the Apostles—who taught and brought into force the terms and conditions upon which they were to communicate one with another—have we not the pattern of that intercourse and communion between several Churches, by which common sense sheweth all them that look into the records of the Church, that the unity and communion of the whole was continued to after ages?

§ 28. The words of Tertullian *de Præscript. Hæret.* cap. xx.[y] must not be omitted here. *Itaque tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, et omnes Apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem: communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quæ jura, non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem Sacramenti una traditio.* "Therefore so many and so great Churches are all that one primitive Church from the Apostles, out of which all come. So all are the primitive, and all Apostolical, while all agree in proving unity: while they have the communication of peace, the title of brotherhood, the common mark of hospitality; which rights nothing but the same tradition of the same mystery ruleth."

§ 29. It is to be known that among the Greeks and Romans, if a man had made acquaintance and friendship in a foreign city, the fashion was to leave a mark for a pledge of it with one another, which was called *tessera*, upon recognizance whereof he that should come to the place where the other dwelt was not only to be entertained by him—whereupon these friends are called *hospites*, signifying both hosts and guests—but also assisted in any business which he might have

of the common faith; did endeavour to preserve charity, friendship and peace; this is all which thence may be concluded.

"Ans. 2. Secular princes are wont to send ambassadors and envoys with letters and instructions for settlement of correspondence and preserving peace; they sometimes do recommend their subjects to other princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their subjects travelling or trading anywhere in the world; common reason doth require such things; but may common union of polity from hence be inferred." —Discourse of Unity, vol. vii. pp. 680, 681. Oxford, 1830.

[y] P. 334. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

in that place. Such a kind of right as this Tertullian saith there was between Christians and Christians, between Churches and Churches.

And the intercourse of the Church under

§ 30. He that produced the cognizance of the Church from whence he came, found not only access to the communion of the Church to which he came, but assistance in his necessities and business in the name of a Christian. Thus St. Paul calleth Gaius his host and of the whole Church, Rom. xvi. 23, signifying that as he entertained him St. Paul, so he was ready to entertain any Christian as a Christian; and addeth to that Epistle a recommendation whereby Phœbe might be acknowledged and received as a deaconess of the
70 Church at Cenchreæ, Rom. xvi. 1. Whereas otherwise letters were written express to that purpose, which St. Paul himself calls *συστατικὰς*, or commendatory, 2 Cor. iii. 1. The terms in which St. Paul recommends Phœbe are these; "That ye receive her in the Lord as it becometh the saints, and stand by her in any business where she may stand in need; for she also hath stood by many and by me, *προστάτις ἐγενήθη*, saith St. Paul; *προστάτης* at Athens was a stranger's patron. For at Athens, a stranger that came to live there could not act for himself, but by his patron. The same St. Paul thus chargeth Titus, iii. 13: "Send away Zenas the lawyer and Apollos with care that they want nothing." That is, put money in their purse, as their journey shall require; as the Egyptians sent away the Israelites with care when they furnished them with all that they demanded. Wisdom xix. 2.

§ 31. But the passage of St. John's third Epistle, 5—10, is very remarkable. You saw[z] how, in his second Epistle, he forbids them so much as to salute heretics, much less to entertain them, or any that should not bring with him the true faith; that is, a cognizance that they professed it. Here he commends Gaius for assisting some Christian strangers that travelled for the name of Christ, that is, upon the business of the Church, taking nothing of the Gentiles because themselves were Jews turned Christians. These, he saith, had borne witness to Gaius's love before the Church, by writing letters to acquaint the Church from whence they came, with their entertainment, wishing him so to despatch them as may

[z] Chap. ix. sect. 23.

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be fitting towards God, because by so doing a man assists the truth, and whereas Diotrephes had prevailed with the Church not to receive them, and did labour with[a] particular men to that purpose—upon pretence, it seems, of some strangeness between the Jews and Gentiles that were turned Christians—forbids Gaius to be ruled by his factiousness.

§ 32. We hear St. Paul in the end of his Epistles relate the salutations of the brethren—that is, of the Church from whence he dates—and also of particular persons eminent there, to the body of the Church he writes to. What ground had there been for this intercourse had not the Apostle taught them that they were all of one body, and so ought to preserve themselves? How often do they charge them to salute one another with a holy kiss, or the kiss of love, Rom. xvi. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 13; 1 Pet. v. 14, which the Constitutions of the Apostles[b] shew was done before the consecration of the Eucharist, to signify the love of one another in Christ and for Christ, wherewith they professed to receive the same. Though Origen upon Rom. xvi.[c] says it came after prayer. And Tertullian therefore calls it *signaculum orationis, de Orat.* xiv.[d], the seal of prayer. To wit, of that prayer which the Eucharist was celebrated with.

§ 33. Therefore those salutations, joined with the charge of saluting one another in token of this love, signify no less than the expression of the same love from foreign Churches, which they professed among themselves, in the communion of the same mysteries; that is, that they who absent, thus saluted them, did no less communicate with them in the same Sacrament than they did with one another, who saw one another communicate with one another face to face.

and after the Apostles,

§ 34. This is then that communication of peace, that title of brotherhood, that recognizance of the marks of hospitality which Tertullian allegeth[e] for the means whereby all Churches

[a] "Take pains with." MSS.

[b] See Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 27.

[c] *Salutate invicem in osculo sancto.* Ex hoc sermone, aliisque nonnullis similibus, mos Ecclesiis traditus est, ut post orationes osculo se invicem suscipiant fratres. Hoc autem osculum sanctum appellat Apostolus.—Origen. Opp., tom. iv. col. 683. ed. Ben.

[d] Alia jam consuetudo invaluit, jejunantes habita oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod est signaculum orationis. Quando autem magis conferenda cum fratribus pax est, nisi cum oratione commendabilior ascendit, ut ipsi de nostra operatione participent, quam auderent de sua pace fratri transigere? — P. 183. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[e] See sect. 28 above.

make one Church, the same with that primitive and original Church which was first founded by the Apostles; the unity whereof being grounded upon the same faith, delivered and received at the Sacrament of baptism, is able to make evidence of the same faith. Do not all the records of the Church from the Apostles' time justify the same visible communion in Christianity, by the same intercourse and communion of councils and business, which were trouble to no purpose were not the intent of it to maintain the unity of the Church.

[and their immediate successors.]

§ 35. Look upon the Epistles of Ignatius, and observe in them two things for the present purpose. The first, that Ignatius, being carried in bonds from Rome to Antiochia, the Churches by which he passed—not only those he writes his Epistles to, but divers others—send deputations of the principal persons among them, to confer with him about their present estate: which are the occasions of the letters he directs to them. The second, that he desires them to depute and ordain certain persons to go to Antiochia , to his Church there, to congratulate with them, that since he was taken from them they were returned from persecution into their wonted body; the preservation whereof, I suppose every man will imagine, this conference, advice, and comfort of so many Churches, was the means to advance.

§ 36. The same is to be seen by that of Clemens[g]—or rather of the Church of Rome, in whose name he writes it—to the Church of Corinth, divided within itself into factions, to reduce them to peace and unity. For I suppose the premises will shew the reason that must oblige the parties to respect the advice of the Church of Rome; to wit, the obligation of communicating with the whole Church: seeing reason requires that the party which should refuse to return to unity, must be refused the communion of the Church of Rome, and those Churches, by consequence, that should adhere to it.

§ 37. Look now upon St. Cyprian's letters, look upon the

[f] Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν, κατὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα.—Ep. ad Philadelph., cap. x. p. 33. ed. Coteler.

[g] See Prim. Govern., chap. v. sect. 5; and chap. vi. sect. 4.

BOOK I. letters of Dionysius of Alexandria, out of which, for the greatest part, Eusebius hath compiled the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical Histories; look upon the rest of the intercourse, by which the unity and communion of the Church was maintained distinct from all heresies and schisms, from the Apostles' time till Constantine, and let me know what probable reason can be assigned, to move foreign Churches to give that respect to strangers which was effectual to the purpose intended, had not all sides been persuaded that this was the end which the Apostles, after our Lord, had ordained, this the means to procure it.

§ 38. Take for an instance the letter of the synod at Antiochia about Paulus Samosatenus, in the place afore quoted[h]. There shewing that having deposed him, they had made a new Bishop in his stead, they write further: *ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν ὅπως τούτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα· τῷ δὲ Ἀρτεμᾷ οὗτος ἐπιστελλέτω, καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀρτεμᾶ φρονοῦντες, τούτῳ κοινωνείτωσαν.* "This we have given you notice of, that you may write to him, and receive from him communicatory letters. But let him that is deposed write to Artemon, and let Artemon's sect communicate with him." These letters then were a mark and cognizance that they acknowledged him that was ordained true Bishop of Antiochia. And the sending of them from the Bishops of Italy and Rome, the emperor Aurelian maketh the condition upon which the decree of the synod was to be executed by secular force.

§ 39. In like manner Optatus, lib. ii.[i], having brought down his catalogue of the Bishops of Rome to Damasus; *Damaso Siricius hodie*, saith he, *qui noster est socius, cum quo nobiscum totus orbis, commercio formatarum, in una communionis societate concordat.* "To Damasus succeeds this day Siricius, with whom, the whole world together agreeth with us, in one fellowship of communion, by the intercourse of letters of mark." These letters of mark, which we speak of, concerned not only the public business of Churches, but were usually given to private Christians, whether of the clergy or people, that when they travelled into foreign countries, they might certify of what

[h] Sect. 22. above. See chap. viii. sect. 6. and Prim. Govern., chap. xiv. sect. 3.
[i] Cap. iii. p. 32. Antwerp. 1700.

rank they were at home, and to be received and communicate accordingly, whatsoever Church they came to, all over the world. A thing so manifest by all records of the Church, that it were injury for the reader to go about to evidence it.

§ 40. I said nothing afore, in order of time, concerning the sect of the Donatists. The reason was, because they broke out of the unity of the Church, upon that quarrel which had been debated before in St. Cyprian's time, concerning the baptizing of heretics, and, by the Christian moderation of that time, had been appeased without dissolving the unity of the Church. But I shewed you before[k], that St. Augustine's refutation of them proceeds very much upon supposition of that unity of the Church which we are now put to prove.

§ 41. Neither said I any thing of the schism of Meletius[l] in Egypt, because it proceeded upon the same ground with that of the Novatians, that those who had fallen away in the persecution of Diocletian ought not to be re-admitted to communion with the Church again. But he that shall consider the decree of the council of Nicæa, for the uniting of them to the Church again, shall find that they held themselves obliged to abate of their right, to regain the unity of the Church; so far they were from imagining that God had not commanded it. For to encourage them to return, they allowed those who had been ordained under Meletius *τὴν* 72 *τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν*, the title, rank and ministry competent to their respective orders, and to succeed into the places of those that should die; in the mean time, not to act in ordinations as those of the clergy should do. This you have in Theodoret and Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 9[m], in Sozomenus i. 24.

[The terms of reconciliation granted to the Meletians.]

§ 42. And thus I conceive I have demonstrated the unity of the Church, by the same reasons for which we hold our

[Unity of the Church part of Christianity.]

[k] Chap. viii. sects. 6—8. and 25—27.

[l] Meletiani a Meletio nuncupati, nolentes orare cum conversis, id est, eis qui in persecutione ceciderunt, schisma fecerunt. Nunc autem dicuntur Arianis esse conjuncti.—S. August. de Hæresibus, Hæres. xlix. tom. viii. coll. 17, 18. ed. Ben.

[m] *Ἔδοξεν οὖν Μελίτιον μὲν, φιλανθρωπότερον κινηθείσης τῆς Συνόδου. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον, οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιος ἦν· μένειν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν, μήτε χειροθετεῖν, μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι, μήτε ἐν χώρᾳ, μήτε ἐν πόλει ἑτέρᾳ φαίνεσθαι, ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως ἕνεκα. ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς τιμῆς κεκτῆσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, δευτέρους δὲ εἶναι ἐξάπαντος πάντων τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ παροικίᾳ τε καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων.*—Socrates, p. 28. ed. Vales.

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Christianity; that is, by the Scriptures interpreted by the consent of all Christians; having shewed[n] by the proceedings in the Arian persecution under Constantius and Valens, that this union was of force to defeat all the designs of those apostates, who having the power of the empire on their side, sought the way to introduce their own faith. For what appearance is there that succeeding emperors should not acknowledge that which had preserved their faith in despite of their predecessors? Or that Constantine, from the beginning of his Christianity, did not acknowledge the Church in that quality, which manifestly defeated the designs of his successors to poison Christianity? But the laws of the empire are extant, and so are the laws of most of those sovereignties into which the empire stands divided, and I shall have occasion to say something of them in the process of my discourse, where I shall find something objected for me to dissolve. Which when I have answered, then shall I make account to have completely demonstrated my purpose.

§ 43. In the mean time, I desire those that have seen what hath been alleged for and against the infallibility of the Church, to tell me whether ever they found it alleged that there never was any such thing as the Church, in the nature of a corporation of God's founding; which had it been the ground of reformation, as now Erastians and Independents are founded upon it, there had been no such bar to all pretence of infallibility in the Church, as to say that there is no such thing as a Church in the quality of a corporation, that is, with power in some to oblige the whole. On the other side[o], having demonstrated that all things necessary for the salvation of Christians are not clear in Scriptures to all whom they concern, I have also shewed[p] how necessary it was that the corporation of the Church should be provided, as well to preserve that faith, upon the profession whereof I have shewed[q] it was founded, as to maintain that service of God in unity, which is the end for which it subsisteth.

[n] Sects. 25, 26. above.
[o] Chap. v.
[p] Chap. vii.
[q] Chap. vii.

CHAP. XI.

CHAPTER XI.

UPON WHAT GROUNDS THE FIRST BOOK DE SYNEDRIIS HOLDS THAT THE CHURCH CANNOT EXCOMMUNICATE. BEFORE THE LAW THERE WAS NO SUCH POWER, NOR BY IT. CHRISTIANS WENT FOR JEWS UNDER THE APOSTLES. HIS SENSE OF SOME SCRIPTURES. WHAT THE LEVIATHAN SAITH IN GENERAL CONCERNING THE POWER OF THE CHURCH. BOTH SUPPOSE THAT ECCLESIASTICAL POWER INCLUDETH TEMPORAL, WHICH IS NOT TRUE. OF THE OXFORD DOCTOR'S PARÆNESIS.

Upon what grounds the first book *de Synedriis* holds that the Church cannot excommunicate.

To much of this, great opposition is made by the first and second book *de Synedriis Hebræorum*[r], and the author of the *Leviathan*[s]; the first pretending to maintain the position of Erastus[t], that excommunication may be a temporal punishment, if secular powers think fit to use it; but that the Church hath nothing to do to exclude from the communion of the Eucharist those, who professing Christianity, live not according to it. To this purpose he produces all the evidence that can be made, to shew that under the law of nature, as ecclesiastical writers call it—that is, from the beginning of the world to the law of Moses—there was no precept, no practice of excommunication, for the Jews under the law to receive it from thence. No precept of the law upon which it can be thought to have been established by divine right, so as to take place under the Gospel upon that title.

Before the law there was no such power, nor by it.

§ 2. Here he shews at large[u], that when the precept of circumcision is enacted by this sanction, "That the male child which shall not be circumcised on the eighth day, shall be cut off from his people," Gen. xvii. 14; when many precepts of Moses's law have this penalty of being cut off annexed to the
73 transgression of them, the intent is not that they shall be excommunicate, but that their lives shall be forfeited to God's vengeance in case He please to exercise it. Inferring[x], that

[r] See chap. ii. sect. 11.

[s] Chap. ii. sect. 9.

[t] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 13.

[u] Summa demum est, ad judicium inter homines forense pœnam illam excisionis neutiquam omnino attinuisse, nec inter eorum actus fuisse, sed ex Numinis voluntate ac arbitrio perpetuo pependisse, adeoque in judiciorum hic - -btinuisse nullum, si Talmudicis et Karæis, id est, sectarium Ebræorum pari illustrissimo fides.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. vi. ad fin. p. 55. Amstel. 1679.

[x] In lege ipsa aut in historia sacra ante captivitatis primæ jam dictæ tempora, usum hunc nullibi comparere. Neque necessarium eis visum est ut adhiberetur excommunicatio, quamdiu sui erant juris ac penes synedria et præfecturas juridicas suas potestas mane-

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when the sovereign power was taken away from that people in their captivity and dispersions—being nevertheless privileged to live by their own laws—by their own consent they submitted to this penalty, as the means to enforce the sentences of their own governors, by whom their laws were dispensed. This being that excommunication whereof we have remembrance in Esdras[y] and in the Gospels; as it appears by the original to have been a mere human law, so did it no way concern the service of God, which the excommunicate among the Jews were not excluded from by it, but was a mere civil punishment, tending to change and abate the estate and condition of him that was under it, in his freedom and intercourse with his own people. By all this he seems to fortify the argument which Erastus had made[z], shewing that there is no such thing as excommunication commanded or established by the law, and therefore that there is no such power in the Church.

§ 3. But further, seeing that there was no other company

bat, ... Adeoque nec in legis præceptis nec sub templo primo aut ante captivitatis tempora usus ipse reperitur, ... In captivitate autem potestas eorum in suos publica, nunc plane adeo deminuebatur ut in nihilum omnino redigeretur, ut devictorum solet, nunc ex indultu principum quibus captivi erant ad gradus aliquot, citra capitalia judicia, eadem permissa. Etiam et quandoque ut pœnas omnimodas adeoque capitis in suos exercere possent, impetrarunt Ethnarchæ et principes captivitatis, ut videre est in historia sacra, apud Josephum alibique. Ipsi autem legum sacrarum sibique peculiarium et morum avitorum libentissime, etiam avidissime, tenaces, quamvis pœnarum forensium executione, qua gavisi antea fuerant, alienis in terris plerumque carebant, summopere tamen inter se, ad singularem existimationem suam inter gentes sustinendam patriosque ritus moresque conservandos agebant, adeoque ex pacto inter se convento seu compromisso, facinorosos ac contumaces ex suis, quos nec capitalibus nec pecuniariis aliisve vulgo usitatis personalibus, seu apud se forensibus pœnis, jam coercere ob potestatis defectum quirent, maledictione, atque vindictæ divinæ imprecatione cum separationis seu pristinæ in convictu ac consortio libertatis deminutionis qualem diximus, ignominia puniri volebant, id est, excommunicatione, ...

Illud autem, sic ut dictum est, in captivitate cœptum ita postmodum variatim duravit ac retentum est, ut non modo ubi jurisdictionem etiam peramplam inter suos, citra capitalem, exercere alienis in terris atque in dispersionibus ex indultu principum eis licuerit, verum etiam, ubi capitalia cum reliquis judicia eis permitterentur, atque essent in usu sive alienis in terris sive in ipsa terra sancta ac Hierosolymis, excommunicatione jam ostensa uterentur, adhibitis etiam quandoque prout potuerint simul ac voluerint, pœnis præter eam insuper aliis atque satis heterogeneis. Sed ab exemplis et testimoniis sequentibus manifestiora hæc fient. Præ aliis excommunicationis etiam forensis usus apud eos testimonia illustriora sunt et quantum video revera in sacris literis prima sub Ezræ Ethnarchæ et Nehemiæ tempora. Ita scilicet in edicto illo comminatorio Ezræ, cum suis e captivitate reducis legitur cap. x. 8. *Quicunque &c.*—Ib., cap. vii. pp. 77—79. Amstel. 1679.

[y] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 30.

[z] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 29. note q.

of men extant in the world, for the Apostles to understand by the name of the Church, when our Lord commanded him that was offended among His disciples, "tell it to the Church," Matt. xviii. 16—20, he insists strongly[a] that neither the Church of Christ, nor any consistory or assembly of men, or particular person, claiming or acting in behalf and under the title of the Church, can be understood by those words of our Lord: but that the name of the Church must necessarily signify the body of Jews, as well Christians as unbelievers, or that consistory which was able to act in behalf of them in their respective times and places; such as we must also understand the witnesses there mentioned to be.

Christians went for Jews under the Apostles.

§ 4. For it is manifest that at the beginning of Christianity only Jews were admitted to be Christians, insomuch that the dispute was hot about Cornelius and his company, Acts xi. 1, being no Jews in religion, but yet such as believed in the true God, and had renounced the worship of idols. Whereby it seems the command of our Lord "to baptize all nations," Matt. xxviii. 19, was then understood to concern only those of all nations that had made themselves Jews by being circumcised afore[b]. Accordingly we see, that by virtue of Claudius's edict, commanding all Jews to depart from Rome, Aquila

[a] Si ad excommunicationem omnino attinuerint verba illa, quanam admittendum ratione, ut non etiam ad eam solam attinerent quæ tunc temporis et diu post apud Christianos, juxta ante dicta, in usu seu Judaicam, sed ad aliam illam quæ diu postmodum introducta? Atque si ita ea, quæ tunc in usu, intelligatur, nihil novi aut singulare Apostolis eisve qui in locum illorum se successisse volunt, datur, cum facultas tunc excommunicandi omnibus Judæis communis et par esset, ut ex ante etiam allatis constat. Disputatur a viris doctis quidnam Ecclesiæ nomine ibi significetur. Alii synedrium seu presbyterium aliquod ecclesiasticum innui volunt, quasi ejusmodi quid apud Judæos in eorum politia fuisset: alii utcunque synedrium aut presbyterium Judæorum aliquod; alii presbyterium Christianorum tunc nondum natum, sed per prolepsin hic indicatum; alii etiam principem Ecclesiæ, ut vocant, seu Pontificem summum; alii . . . . . cœtum seu conventum aliquem in publico, sine judicii alicujus figura; alii aliter. . . . . Unde dum vertitur 'tell it to the Church' seu 'tell the Church'—ut Angli Rhemenses—veluti citra controversiam admittitur cœtum aliquem, sive juridicum sive alium Christianorum ibi innui, quum Ecclesiæ nomine ejusque derivatis retentis, atque originario vocis sensu simul introspecto, integrum sit sive Christianum sive Judaicum cœlum de tempore quo locutus est Christus intelligere.—Selden. de Synedr., lib. i. cap. ix. pp. 148, 149. Amstel. 1679.

[b] Per septennium igitur ab ascensu Christi aut circiter, ut ante, nemo in credentibus qui postea Christiani dicti, præter Judæos sive originarios sive proselytismi jure integro adscitos. Nec proculdubio ante id tempus elapsum illud Christi ad Apostolos 'Euntes docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos' &c. de aliis gentibus aliter omnino, discipulorum saltem vulgo, intellectum est quam de proselytis qui Judaismum plenum induerent in disciplinam Evangelicam per baptismum adsciscendis.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. pp. 122, 123. Amstel. 1679.

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and Priscilla being Christians, came to Corinth, Acts xviii. 2, to shew that Christians at that time must needs use the Jews' fashions, who were therefore reputed Jews by the law of the Romans, and enjoyed the benefit of their religion by the Jews' privileges, granted or confirmed by the same Claudius, in Josephus, *Antiq.* xix.[c] Whereupon it seems necessarily to follow[d] that the excommunication then in force was that which the Jews had introduced by human law, confirmed by the law of the empire; though it is to be thought that the Christians, upon particular agreement among themselves, such as we find they had by Pliny, *Epist.* x. 97[f], Tertull. *Apolog.* cap. ii.[g], Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 33[h], St. Hierome, *Chron.* 2123[i], Orig. *contr. Celsum* i. p. 4[k], had limited the use of it to such causes and terms as their profession required.

§ 5. Therefore when our Lord in the next words commands that he which will not hear the Church be accounted as an heathen or a publican; as it is manifest that He gives the Church no power, but only prescribes what He would

[c] Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ . . . . λέγει, Αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέων Ἀγρίππου καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλτάτων μοι ὅπως συγχωρήσαιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια, καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἥδιστα συνεχώρησα, ... καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἤδη νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐπιεικέστερον χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν.—Cap. iv. p. 866. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

[d] Ex hisce igitur sequitur tandem idque necessario, ἔθη καὶ δίκαια τὰ πάτρια mores ac jura patria Judæis tunc a Claudio Augusto ita restituta ac concessa pariter ad Christianos tunc attinuisse. Et cum in moribus ac juribus illis, excommunicationis Judaicæ usus locum ad disciplinam inter se tuendam haberet, ut superius ostensum, perquam eximium, sequitur itidem eandem ejusque usum inter Christianos non minus atque inter Judæos reliquos, tam jure tunc—nimirum sub Claudio Augusto seu eodem tempore quo ad Corinthios et Galatas de anathemate scripsit Paulus—Cæsareo quam Judaico subnixum esse indeque fuisse legitimum, uti et ante pariter inter Judæos reliquos, postquam a Cæsaribus, qui præcesserant, ejusmodi eis jura indulta fuerant.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. pp. 129, 130. Amstel. 1679.

[f] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 9: cited also below, chap. xviii. sect. 57.

[g] This passage is cited below, in chap. xviii. towards the end, and is repeated in Eusebius and the Chronicon.

[h] Eusebius takes his account from Tertullian.

[i] Plinius secundus cum quandam provinciam regeret, et in magistratu suo plurimos Christianorum interfecisset; multitudine eorum perterritus, quæsivit a Trajano, quid facto opus esset, nuntians ei, præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, et antelucanos cœtus ad canendum cuidam Christo ut Deo, nihil apud eos reperiri. Præterea ad confœderandam disciplinam, vetari ab his homicidia furta, adulteria, latrocinia, et his similia. Ad quæ commotus Trajanus rescribit: hoc genus quidem inquirendum non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. Tertullianus refert in Apologetico.—Roncall. Vet. Lat. Scrip. Chron., pp. 447, 448. Patav. 1787.

[k] Cited in chap. xviii. sect. 59.

have the party offended to do; so neither heathen nor publican being in the condition of an excommunicate person among the Jews, how can it be understood that our Lord would have him to be excommunicate, whom He commands to be held as a heathen man or as a publican? The effect then of this precept of our Lord will consist in limiting the precept of the law, Levit. xix. 17, to the publishing of those offences between parties, the private complaint whereof should be neglected; so that if the opinion of God's people should be no more esteemed by the offender, the party offended freely to return his scorn, by avoiding his familiarity, as Jews were wont to avoid the familiarity of heathen men and publicans.

[The power of the keys.]

§ 6. Now when our Lord adds in the next words, "whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;" the sense
74 must either be general, to signify the obligation of all law, and the right and power which one man may have by the act of his will to tie and limit another man's; or particular to the law of Moses, whereby what was declared unlawful by the doctors and professors of it, was said in their language to be held or bound, that which was permitted, loose: which signification our Lord also uses, Matt. xxiii. 4; Luke xi. 46. This latter sense concerning things and not persons, will be far from signifying that any man should be excommunicate. And though excommunication be a bond, and was so among the Jews, yet how should we understand that the Church is enabled to tie this bond by a commission, the terms whereof contain all that superiors may do to oblige their inferiors.

§ 7. This author then acknowledges[1] that St. Paul threatens

[1] Expressa autem sunt excommunicationis ejusmodi usus vestigia in epistolis Apostolorum canonicis, maxime Pauli. Comminatorium vibrat ille anathema tum in Christianos, seu evangelizandi in se officium recipientes, qui evangelium aliud præter id quod acceptum fuerat obtenderent, tum in Judæos qualescumque Jesum Christum non admittentes ut Messiam verum, quemadmodum fieri solitum apud Judæos non credentes, in eos qui institutis Mosaicis majorumque scitis atque autoritate morosius ac contumacius refragarentur. 'Licet nos,' inquit, 'aut Angelus de cœlo evangelizet' &c. . . . .

Idem etiam Apostolus, 'si quis non amat Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum' &c. . . . . Hinc anathemate apud Corinthios percutiendos seu excommunicandos voluit Paulus, tam Judæos quam Christianos suos, ...

Quasi Paulus dixisset, cum fratres illi mei universi Christianismum induere debeant, et a Christianis eorumque Ecclesiis eo quod Christum non, ut debent, amplectantur, aut excommunicentur, aut pœnam illam, juxta

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His sense of some Scripture.

excommunication, Gal. i. 8, 9, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, and that he wishes himself that estate which it imports, Rom. ix. 3. Not, as it hath been falsely imagined among Christians, to be cut off from the communion of the Eucharist, and other offices of Christianity; but as it was used among the Jews, to infer the abridgment of a man's freedom in public conversation, as vile and subject to the curses of the Church. But when the same Apostle gives order that the incestuous person be delivered to Satan, 1 Cor. v. 5, as also when he saith that he had delivered Hymenæus and Philetus, 1 Tim. i. 20, when he ordereth them not to converse with such persons, 1 Cor. v. 11, this he[m] takes no more to concern excommunication, than those verses of the Psalms, "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly" [i. 1.]; or, "I have not sat with vain persons, nor will have fellowship with the deceitful" [xxvi. 4.]; that is to say, that it is good counsel towards God, but neither ground nor sign of any commission to excommunicate in the body of the Church.

§ 8. Whereas the Leviathan—to shew here[n], out of order, his sense of that place—though he acknowledge that both ancient and modern writers have understood it as if, by the extraordinary graces which the Apostles then had, to evidence

morem, satis mereantur, adeoque vindictæ Divinæ imprecationibus ac ignominiæ per eas simul atque personalem separationem—secundum capite superiori ostensa—perquam gravi sint obnoxii, atque ante absolutionem, pœnitentiam et bonæ mentis professionem solennem subire debeant, utinam ego ipse hæc, pro illis omnibus seu eorum vice incommoda paterer, si modo sic redimi, et Christiani fieri possent. Atque anathema a Christo sic sumendum, seu pro excommunicato, seu more solenni, id est, juxta ante dicta.—Judaicum tunc usum singularem—separato ab Ecclesia Christi.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. pp. 111—116. Amstel. 1679.

[m] Sed 'cibum cum ejusmodi non capere, non commisceri,' uti et 'hæreticum vitare' et id genus alia in Novo Testamento monita non magis mihi videntur excommunicationem quo trahi sæpius solent innuere aut spectare, quam in Veteri. 'Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum' &c. aut 'Non sedi cum concilio vanitatis et cum iniqua gerentibus non introibo,' id genus compluria. Neque enim in his nec in illis quid continetur quo status personæ alicujus ut in excommunicatione per separationem, mutandus, sed tantum peculiaris vitæ institutio seu consilium illi qui sic non commisceretur, cibum non sumeret, hæreticum vitaret, in concilio ejusmodi non sederet, nec sic introiret.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. p. 117. Amstel. 1679.

[n] "Excommunication therefore had its effect only upon those that believed that Jesus Christ was to come again in glory; to reign over, and to judge both the quick and the dead, and should therefore refuse entrance into His kingdom to those . . . that were excommunicated by the Church. And thence it is that St. Paul calleth excommunication a delivery of the excommunicate person to Satan, for without the kingdom of Christ, all other kingdoms after judgment are comprehended in the kingdom of Satan."—Leviathan, chap. 42. part 3. p. 277. London, 1651.

the presence of God in His Church; the excommunicate became subject to plagues and diseases inflicted by evil angels—to shew that they came under the power of Satan when they were put out of the Church—yet he satisfies himself by saying that other learned men find nothing like the excommunication of Christians in it, p. 219[o], and that it depended upon the singular privilege of the Apostles.

What the Leviathan saith in general of the power of the Church.

§ 9. These are the grounds upon which the power of the keys, and by consequence, the charter and corporation of the Church, and all ecclesiastical right and power grounded thereupon, are taken away, in the first book *de Synedriis*, to the same effect as in Erastus's positions. But the Leviathan comes up close to the point in general, and following the supposition which I have refuted[p], that the Gospel or Christianity, and the Scriptures that contain it, are not law till the secular power that is sovereign enact it, by consequence must needs deny that any act of the Apostles could be law to the Church, whose office was only to publish the news of the coming and rising again of Christ, and to induce men to submit themselves to His kingdom of the world to come; much less can there be any power to give laws to the Church, but that which is in the sovereign of each state, which therefore, when it is Christian, is called the Church of such a kingdom. Though he acknowledge also that before the empire was Christian, the body of Christians in every city is called in the Scriptures the Church of such or such a city, p. 275[q]; but denying that there can be upon earth any such universal Church as all Christians are tied to obey, because they are

[o] De singulari potestate divina, seu virga Apostolica, qua tum morbos tum mortem impiis inferre potuerint Apostoli ipsi—ut Petrus Ananiæ et Sapphiræ, et Paulus Elymæ—merito sumunt alii, tam veterum quam recentiorum. Alii etiam eadem notione cum excommunicatione conjungunt. Franciscus de Mayronis 'nota quod in primitiva secundum aliquos, ut ostenderet quam timenda esset pœna illa excommunicationis, statim, excommunicatus accipiebatur, et rapiebatur a Dæmone.' Atque obvia sunt quæ hac de re scriptores; de qua ante alios consulendus est vir doctissimus Petrus Molinæus qui ad excommunicationem traditionem illam Satanæ non omnino illic spectasse feliciter sane astruit.—Selden. de Synedr. Heb., cap. viii. pp. 117, 118. Amstel. 1679.

[p] Chap. iii. sect. 34. See sect. 35. note v, there.

[q] "The sentence therefore by which a man was put out of the Church, was pronounced by the Apostle or pastor, but the judgment concerning the merit of the cause was in the Church, that is to say—as the times were before the conversion of kings, and men that had sovereign authority in the commonwealth—the assembly of the Christians dwelling in the same city, as in Corinth, in the assembly of the Christians of Corinth."—Chap. 42. part 3. London, 1651.

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liable to other powers of this world according to the states of which they are, p. 248[r], and before p. 206[s].

§ 10. As for the power of binding and loosing, very properly he understands it, p. 275[t], to be a consequence of the

[r] "I define a Church to be a company of men professing Christian religion, united in the person of one sovereign; at whose command they ought to assemble, and without whose authority they ought not to assemble. And because in all commonwealths, that assembly which is without warrant from the civil sovereign, is unlawful, that Church also, which is assembled in any commonwealth that hath forbidden them to assemble, is an unlawful assembly.

"It followeth also, that there is on earth no such universal Church as all Christians are bound to obey, because there is no power on earth to which all other commonwealths are subject. There are Christians in the dominions of several princes and states, but every one of them is subject to that commonwealth whereof he is himself a member, and consequently cannot be subject to the commands of any other person. And therefore a Church, such a one as is capable to command, to judge, absolve, condemn, or do any other act, is the same thing with a civil commonwealth, consisting of Christian men, and is called a civil state, for that the subjects of it are men, and a Church for that the subjects thereof are Christians."—Part iii. chap. 39. London, 1651.

[s] "But the Church, if it be one person, is the same thing with a commonwealth of Christians; called a commonwealth, because it consisteth of men united in one person, their sovereign; and a Church because it consisteth in Christian men, united in one Christian sovereign. But if the Church be not one person, then it hath no authority at all; it can neither command, nor do any action at all; nor is capable of having any power, or right to anything, nor has any will, reason, nor voice, for all these qualities are personal. Now if the whole number of Christians be not contained in one commonwealth, they are not one person, nor is there an universal Church that hath any authority over them; and therefore the Scriptures are not made laws by the universal Church, or if it be one commonwealth, then all Christian monarchs and states are private persons, and subject to be judged, deposed, and punished by an universal sovereign of all Christendom. So that the question of the authority of the Scriptures is reduced to this; whether Christian kings and the sovereign assemblies in Christian commonwealths be absolute in their own territories, immediately under God, or subject to one vicar of Christ, constituted of the universal Church, to be judged, condemned, deposed, and put to death, as he shall think expedient or necessary for the common good."—Part iii. chap. 33. London, 1651.

[t] "The power of remission, and retention of sins, called also the power of loosing and binding, and sometimes the keys of the kingdom of heaven, is a consequence of the authority to baptize, or refuse to baptize. . . . . And therefore seeing to baptize is to declare the reception of men into God's kingdom, and to refuse to baptize is to declare their exclusion, it followeth that the power to declare them cast out, or retained in it, was given to the same Apostles, and their substitutes and successors.

". . . . . the Apostles and their successors are to follow but the outward marks of repentance; which appearing they have no authority to deny absolution, and if they appear not, they have no authority to absolve. The same also is to be observed in baptism: for to a converted Jew, or Gentile, the Apostles had not the power to deny baptism, nor to grant it to the impenitent. But seeing no man is able to discern the truth of another man's repentance further than by external marks, taken from his words and actions, which are subject to hypocrisy, another question will arise, who it is that is constituted judge of those marks. And this question is decided by our Saviour Himself; *If thy brother trespass* &c. St. Matt. xviii. 15—17. By which it is manifest that the judgment concerning the truth of repentance, belonged not to any one man, but to the Church, that is, to the assembly of the faithful, or to them that have authority to be their representant. But

Apostles' commission to baptize unto forgiveness of sins; but so that, supposing they have nothing to do either to loose them that repent not, or to bind them that do, and that no man's repentance is visible but by outward signs, there must be some power to judge of the truth of those signs, because they may be counterfeit. And this power, as it is expressly given by our Lord to the Church, Matt. xviii. 16, when He saith, "tell the Church;" so doth St. Paul, 1 Cor. v. 11, 12, and 3, 4, 5, acknowledge the power of casting out
75 the incestuous person and other sinners to be in the congregation, reserving to himself only the pronouncing of the sentence. Supposing this Church to be now the sovereign power that representeth the people, but when St. Paul wrote, the body of Christians in such or such a city.

§ 11. In like manner the appointing of persons, either to officiate the service of God, or to wait upon the necessities of the Church, he also gives[u] unto the Church, that is, then, to the respective bodies of Christians, but now, to the sovereign power into which all rights of the people resolve by the establishment of it. But the consecrating of them by imposition of hands[x], as to the Apostles for their time, so to the

beside the judgment, there is necessary also the pronouncing of sentence: and this belonged always to the Apostle, or some pastor of the Church, as prolocutor, and of this our Saviour speaketh, in the 18th verse, *Whatsoever ye shall bind &c.* And conformable hereunto was the practice of St. Paul, 1 Cor. v. 3—5: *For I verily, as absent in body . . . . . have determined already . . . . . to deliver such a one to Satan*, that is to say, to cast him out of the Church, as a man whose sins are not forgiven. Paul here pronounceth the sentence, but the assembly was first to hear the cause—for St. Paul was absent—and by consequence to condemn him."—Part iii. chap. 42. pp. 274, 275. London, 1651.

[u] "Again, let the right of choosing them be—as before the conversion of kings—in the Church, for so it was in the time of the Apostles themselves, as hath been shewn already in this chapter—even so also the right will be in the civil sovereign, Christian. For in that he is a Christian, he allows the teaching, and in that he is a sovereign — " to say the Church by representation—the teachers he elects are elected by the Church. And when an assembly of Christians choose their pastor in a Christian commonwealth, it is the sovereign that electeth him, because it is done by his authority. In the same manner, as when a town choose their mayor, it is the act of him that hath the sovereign power, for every act done is the act of him without whose consent it is invalid. And therefore whatsoever examples may be drawn out of history concerning the election of pastors by the people, or by the clergy, they are no arguments against the right of any civil sovereign, because they that elected them did it by his authority."—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 42. p. 295. London, 1651.

[x] "But if every Christian sovereign be the supreme pastor of his own subjects, it seemeth that he hath also the authority, not only to preach—which perhaps no man will deny—but also to baptize and to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and to consecrate both temples and pastors to God's service—which most men deny

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world's end to their successors. For thus were Matthias, Paul and Barnabas made Apostles, Acts i. 15, 23; xiii. 1—3. Thus the seven deacons, thus the elders of Churches were constituted, Acts vi. 3; xiv. 23; the congregation choosing, the Apostles declaring the choice, as in binding and loosing.

§ 12. As for the maintenance of persons thus appointed, it is no marvel if he make it[y] mere alms and benevolence, without any law of God to make the purses of Christians liable to it, who acknowledgeth not Christianity to be any law; for how shall he be bound to contribute towards the maintenance of such persons, that is not bound to be a Christian? But that tithes under the law were due only by the civil power which God had upon the people, having made God their sovereign by their covenant with Him, in which

—partly because they use not to do it, and partly because the administration of Sacraments, and consecration of persons and places to holy uses, requireth the imposition of such men's hands, as by the like imposition successively from the time of the Apostles have been ordained to the like ministry."—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 42. p. 297. London, 1651. See also Right of the Church, Review, chap. iv. sect. 36.

[y] "After our Saviour's Ascension, the Christians of every city lived in common, upon the money which was made of the sale of their lands and possessions, and laid down at the feet of the Apostles, of good will, not of duty; 'For whilst the land remained,' saith St. Peter to Ananias, Acts v. 4, 'was it not thine? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?' which sheweth he needed not have saved his land, nor his money by lying, as not being bound to contribute any thing at all, unless he had pleased. And as in the time of the Apostles, so also all the time downward, till after Constantine the Great, we shall find that the maintenance of the Bishops and pastors of the Christian Church, was nothing but the voluntary contribution of them that had embraced their doctrine. There was yet no mention of tithes." . . . .

"But here may some ask, whether the pastors were then bound to live upon voluntary contributions, as upon alms, 'For who,' saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 7, 'goeth to war at his own charges?' &c. . . . . From which place may be inferred indeed, that the pastors of the Church ought to be maintained by their flocks; but not that the pastors were to determine either the quantity or the kind of their own allowance, and be, as it were, their own carvers. Their allowance must needs therefore be determined, either by the gratitude and liberality of every particular man of their flock, or by the whole congregation. By the whole congregation it could not be, because their acts were then no laws: therefore the maintenance of pastors before emperors and civil sovereigns had made laws to settle it, was nothing but benevolence; they that served at the altar, lived on what was offered. So may the pastors also take what is offered them by their flock; but not exact what is not offered. In what court should they sue for it who had no tribunals? Or if they had arbitrators amongst themselves, who should execute their judgments, when they had no power to arm their officers? It remaineth therefore that there could be no certain maintenance assigned to any pastors of the Church, but by the whole congregation, and then only when their decrees should have the force—not only of canons, but also—of laws; which laws could not be made, but by emperors, kings, or other civil sovereigns. The right of tithes in Moses's law, could not be applied to the then ministers of the Gospel, because Moses and the high priests were the civil sovereigns of the people under God, whose kingdom amongst the Jews was present; whereas the kingdom of God by Christ is yet to come."—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 42. pp. 293, 294. London, 1651.

right Moses and Aaron, and the high-priests that succeeded him, were but His lieutenants—so that when this power was translated and settled upon their kings, it held merely by their sufferance—this is an imagination that no man's brain ever teemed with till now.

§ 13. And truly in the point of giving law to the Church, by determining controversies of faith, and by interpreting difficulties of Scripture—call it what you please—as also by deciding that which becomes questionable in any thing that concerns the community of Christians, it had been a necessary consequence of this opinion, that as he owneth the sovereign power's right to decree, so he should assign the persons thereby appointed for the Church, a right to declare, publish or pronounce the same, as in excommunicating and ordaining he doth; for which he hath found no ground, no pretence in the Scriptures. Besides, whereas by the act of the Apostles, laying a burden upon believers, Acts xv. 28, and by the practice of their successors, practising the holding of councils—which common sense would make ridiculous, if they had no effect upon the Church—he is convinced to acknowledge[z] that they were able to bind themselves, though not the Church; it will be impossible for him to render a reason, either why this power should cease, or how it should continue when the sovereign power becomes Christian, and all right in the Church is resolved into it.

Both supposeth that ecclesiastical power includeth

§ 14. I must not leave this point, before I have taken notice of one presumption, wherein both these authors seem to agree. For the Leviathan, in several places, pp. 285, 286, 282, 205, 206, 322[a], taketh for granted that there is no law

[z] "That which may seem to give the New Testament, in respect of those that have embraced Christian doctrine, the force of laws, in the times and places of persecution, is the decrees they made amongst themselves in their synods. For we read, Acts xv. 28, the style of the council of the Apostles, the elders, and the whole Church in this manner, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things,' &c., which is a style that signifieth a power to lay a burden on them that had received their doctrine. Now 'to lay a burden on another' seem oblige,' and therefore the acts of that council were laws to the then Christians. Nevertheless they were no more laws than are these other precepts, Repent, Be baptized," &c.—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 42. pp. 285, 286. London, 1651.

[a] P. 285. "Seeing then our Saviour hath denied His kingdom to be in this world, seeing He had said, He came not to judge but to save the world, He hath not subjected us to other laws than those of the commonwealth; that is, the Jews to the law of Moses, which He saith, Matth. v., He came not to destroy but to fulfil, and other nations to the laws of their several sovereigns, and all men to the laws of nature, the

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temporal, which is not true.

in the world but the law of nature and the civil laws of commonwealths. And therefore, that he which makes ecclesiastical power not to depend upon the civil, must endow it both with right and means, to constrain men to obey it; and thereupon infers all the inconvenience which he so much aggravates: that then all civil power must of necessity be swallowed up and resolved into the power of the Church, inasmuch as all Christians, even sovereigns, are members of it. Which to avoid, it is necessary to grant that the Church is nothing else but a Christian commonwealth, and the clergy ministers of the sovereign power, deriving all their authority from it, pp. 209, 249, 296[b].

observing whereof both He Himself, and His Apostles have in their teaching recommended to us, as a necessary condition of being admitted by Him in the last day into His eternal kingdom." —Part iii. chap. 42.

P. 286. "But we read not any where that they who received not the doctrine of Christ, did therein sin; but that they died in their sins; that is, that their sins against the laws to which they owed obedience, were not pardoned. And those laws were the laws of nature, and the civil laws of the state, whereto every Christian man had by pact submitted himself."—*Ib.*

P. 282. "Before that time there was no written law of God, who as yet having not chosen any people to be His peculiar kingdom, had given no law to men but the law of nature, that is to say, the precepts of natural reason, written in every man's own heart. . . . . The question now is, who it was that gave to these written tables the obligatory force of laws. There is no doubt but they were made laws by God Himself: but because a law obliges not, nor is law to any, but to them that acknowledge it to be the act of the sovereign; . . . . . It was therefore only Moses then, and after him the high-priest, whom, by Moses, God declared should administer this His peculiar kingdom, that had on earth the power to make this short Scripture of the Decalogue to be law in the commonwealth of Israel. But Moses and Aaron and the succeeding high-priests were the civil sovereigns."—*Ib.*

P. 205. "As far as they [the Scriptures] differ not from the laws of nature, there is no doubt but they are the law of God, and carry their authority with them, legible to all men that have the use of natural reason: but this is no other authority than that of all other moral doctrine consonant to reason, the dictates whereof are laws, not made, but eternal. . . . . He therefore to whom God hath not supernaturally revealed that they are His, nor that those that published them were sent by Him, is not obliged to obey them, by any authority, but his whose commands have already the force of laws; that is to say, by any other authority than that of the commonwealth, residing in the sovereign, who only has the legislative power."—Part iii. chap. 33.

P. 206. This place is cited before in sect. 9. note s.

P. 322. "But what commandments are those that God hath given us? Are all those laws which were given to the Jews by the hand of Moses, the commandments of God? If they be, why are not Christians taught to obey them? If they be not, what others are so beside the law of nature? For our Saviour Christ hath not given us new laws, but counsel to observe those we are subject to, that is to say the laws of nature, and the laws of our several sovereigns."—Part iii. chap. 43. London, 1651.

[b] P. 219. "In short, the kingdom of God is a civil kingdom, which consisted, first, in the obligation of the people of Israel to those laws which Moses should bring unto them from Mount Sinai, and which afterwards the high-priest for the time being should deliver to them from before the cherubims in the Sanctum Sanctorum."—Part iii. chap. 35.

P. 249. "God saith, 'All the nations

§ 15. In like manner the first book *de Synedriis Hebræorum*, p. 105[c], in defining excommunication, takes it for granted that those who challenge the power of it in behalf of the Church, would have the civil estate and condition of him that is excommunicate, in regard of his reputation or freedom, changed and abated by it. Which must needs infer the Church to be endowed with such a power as is able by outward force to constrain obedience. For otherwise the estate of no man that is protected in all right by the civil power could be
76 changed or abated by it. Accordingly in several places he presumes that those who maintain the power of the Church, and the right of excommunicating, which is a prime part of it, to stand by God's law, are obliged by consequence to maintain the power of the Church in matters of the world, *in ordine ad spiritualia*.

§ 16. And hereupon follow the reasons whereby these authors have disputed, the one *a priori*[d], that this constitution

of the earth shall be blessed in Him,' &c. . . . . From whence may be concluded this first point, that they to whom God hath not spoken immediately, are to receive the positive commandments of God from their sovereign, as the family and seed of Abraham did from Abraham their father, and lord, and civil sovereign. And consequently in every commonwealth they who have no supernatural revelation to the contrary ought to obey the laws of their own sovereign in the external acts and profession of religion." —Part iii. chap. 40.

P. 296. "Seeing then in every Christian commonwealth the civil sovereign is the supreme pastor, to whose charge the whole flock of his subjects is committed, and consequently that it is by his authority that all other pastors are made, and have power to teach, and perform all other pastoral offices, it followeth also that it is from the civil sovereign that all other pastors derive their right of teaching, preaching, and other functions pertaining to that office, and that they are but his ministers, in the same manner as the magistrates of towns, judges in courts of justice, and commanders of armies, are all but ministers of him that is the magistrate of the whole commonwealth, judge of all causes, and commander of the whole militia, which is always the civil sovereign."—Part iii. chap. 42. London, 1651.

[c] Vocitatur hoc genus pœnæ, Excommunicatio. Ea autem est juris alicujus quod in communione seu communicatione aliqua personali, et qua apud homines usurpatur, visibili, sive circa sacra solum sive circa profana sive circa utraque simul, consistit, per peccantis, aut pro peccante habiti qui ejusmodi jure frueretur ex decreto seu sententia humana, velut eo nomine execrandi detestandique separationem aliquam, privatio, adeoque capitis quædam ejusdem apud suos diminutio, sed cum expectatione reditus ad mentem meliorem atque absolutionem, et citra ultimi quod mortis est, aliusve corporalis supplicii, veluti deportationis, exilii, carceris, aut alterius alicujus reis infligi soliti—nisi diras concomitari solitas, quarum per se vim satis nescimus homines, exceptas velis—ex solo sententiæ Excommunicationis ejusmodi pronuntiatæ sensu, secundum inferius dicenda, irrogationem; utcunque ex accidenti aliquid præter eam, velut in graviorem pœnam eamque sive corporalem, sive pecuniariam, subinde forsan accederet. —Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 56. Amstel. 1679.

[d] "Temporal and spiritual government are but two words brought into the world, to make men see double, and mistake their lawful sovereign.

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of the Church is destructive to the peace and safety of all states, kingdoms, and commonwealths—inasmuch as a power not depending upon them may lawfully be used against them, by giving the people a title of executing the commands of it by force—the other *a posteriori*, from the practice of all Christian states, kingdoms, and commonwealths, who by limiting the exercise and effect of all kinds of acts which the Church hath done, or pretended to enforce by excommunication, have sufficiently demonstrated that they grant the Church no title to any part of the power it challengeth, but their own grant, thinking fit to execute their will in Church matters by Church men, no otherwise than they execute their will in military matters by soldiers, in matters of public and private right by judges and lawyers. As you may see at large in the first book *de Synedriis*, cap. x.[e]

It is true that the bodies of the faithful, after the resurrection, shall be not only spiritual but eternal: but in this life they are gross and corruptible. There is therefore no other government in this life, neither of state, nor religion, but temporal, nor teaching of any doctrine, lawful to any subject, which the governor both of the state and of the religion forbiddeth to be taught: and that governor must be one, or else there must needs follow faction and civil war in the commonwealth between the Church and state; between spiritualists and temporalists, between the sword of justice and the shield of faith; and, which is more, in every Christian man's own breast, between the Christian and the man. The doctors of the Church are called pastors, so also are civil sovereigns. But if pastors be not subordinate one to another, so as that there may be one chief pastor, men will be taught contrary doctrines, whereof both may be, and one must be, false. Who that one chief pastor is, according to the law of nature, hath been already shewn, namely, that it is the civil sovereign: and to whom the Scripture hath assigned that office we shall see in the chapters following."—Leviathan, part iii. chap. 39. p. 248. London, 1651.

[e] Summa est, ut sub conjunctionis Christianismi ac summi in Cæsaribus regiminis initia, variatim ex jure Cæsareo et laxabatur et temperabatur ordinis ecclesiastici jurisdictio, adeoque potestas excommunicationis ipsa—juxta superius ostensa de Constantino, Valente, Gratiano, Valentiniano, Arcadio, Honorio—ita etiam ex jure Anglicano, uti ex juribus aliorum regnorum ac Rerum publicarum ante memoratarum, perquam variatim temperata est ac laxata eadem jurisdictio ac potestas. Neque aliter quam juxta jam dicta intelligenda sunt—dum jus apud nos per omnia sæcula Christianismi, etiam in nostrum, receptum consideramus—ea quæ de excommunicatis, et de eo qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, in articulis religionis nostris occurrunt; aut quæ in canonibus posterioribus de criminibus ac scandalis generatim ab ædituis foro ecclesiastico denuntiandis. Quicquid enim sic generatim ab ordine hic ecclesiastico scriptum est, id ita semper a jure Anglicano civili temperatum est et restrictum, ut inde plane modos suos et limites perpetuo receperit. Quod itidem nuperrime factum ab ordinibus Parliamentariis dum excommunicationi presbyterali retinacula et repagula, quæ egredi rite ea nequiret, diversimode et prudenter assignabant, secundum id quod regiminis publici bono conducibilius dijudicarent ipsi, utcunque sane enixius dogmatis et argumentis suis in contrarium, sed frustra, nec semel contenderet ordinis hic ecclesiastici cœtus qui ea de re publice consulebatur. Et sane qui ut adversarii subinde scriptis insurgunt non omnino evincunt aut evincere contendunt, jus quale diximus apud

§ 17. By which it may appear, that I do this author no wrong, when I infer that the Church is no corporation, nor hath any power but from the state, according to his opinion, because it hath no power to excommunicate. For if those differences of persons, whereby some are qualified to act in behalf of the Church, are grounded originally upon the act and will of the state employing them to that purpose, then can no act that they do be referred to any power estated upon the corporation of the Church, founded by God upon any charter of divine right.

§ 18. Now it is well enough known that there is such an opinion[f] maintained in the Church of Rome[g], and it is manifest to him that shall peruse what hath passed in the Scottish Presbyteries[h], that the effect of the same position hath been practised by them, when the ground of it hath been disclaimed; which is, to my judgment, the more dishonest course of the two. But it must be acknowledged, because it cannot with truth or sincerity be either denied or dissembled, that there are very many of that Church that think otherwise, and think that the Church allows them so to think and to profess.

§ 19. And it is reported[i] with likelihood enough, that cardinal Bellarmine himself—though then a Jesuit, and [History of Bellarmine's

Anglos, non receptissimum fuisse, aut non tam ab ordine hic ipso ecclesiastico quam laico publice agnitum, utcunque ipsi—sed pro vario interim de personis ac titulis, ad quos jurisdictionem ejusmodi attinere velint persuasionum discrimine—suam in rem, ecclesiasticorum jus, velut summo regimini coordinatum, nec omnino subordinatum, cancellis, in *ordine*, saltem ut aiunt, *ad spiritualia*, coercendum fore nullis acerrime concertare soleant.—P. 210. Amstel. 1679. See chap. ii. sect. 11.

[f] "The opinion of the Pope's temporal power infers a change in men's temporal estates, and the sentence of the Church."—MSS.

[g] Quando reges et principes ad Ecclesiam veniunt, ut Christiani fiant, recipiuntur cum pacto expresso vel tacito, ut sceptra sua subjiciant Christo et polliceantur, se Christi fidem servaturos et defensuros, etiam sub pœna regni perdendi, ergo quando fiunt hæretici, aut religioni obsunt, possunt ab Ecclesia judicari, et etiam deponi a principatu, nec ulla eis injuria fiet, si deponantur. . . . . Præterea Ecclesia nimis graviter erraret, si admitteret aliquem regem, qui vellet impune fovere quamlibet sectam, et defendere hæreticos, ac evertere religionem.—Bellarm. de Romano Pontifice, lib. v. cap. vii. col. 905. Colon. Agripp. 1620.

[h] See The Burden of Issachar, by Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, in the Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 260. London, 1708.

[i] Nonne eo jam devenerat, ut fama est, Sixtus V. ut de Bellarmini operibus abolendis cogitaverit, quia supremam hanc ei et directam terrenam monarchiam, aut afferebant, aut aliqua ex parte imminuere videbantur?—Stapulensis, de Rep. Eccles., lib. vi. cap. x. § 3. Londini, 1620.

Præterea versabatur in curia, ubi aliter, quam docuerat, docere non permittitur, ut Jacobo Sirmondo illius familiari placita nova hæc privatim improbanti aliquando dixit: Quod ab eodem Sirmondo antiqui moris viro, cui plura debere m— —Launoii, ep xi. ad par. i. p. 127.

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books *de Romano Pontifice.*]

employed to dispute all controversies upon the highest terms that are tenable—was not of his own choice willing to have maintained it, had he not written under an imperious Pope, Sixtus V., that refused passport to his books *de Romano Pontifice*, till he had added the fifth, concerning this point. Which what contradiction it hath found from those of his own profession[k], ought to be notorious to all that give a judgment in this point, and would not judge of they know not what.

§ 20. It is therefore manifest that there are enough of those that believe the Church to be, by the charter of God, a society, corporation, or visible body, and yet by this charter not protected from the power of the sword, but exposed to be persecuted by the same; that is to say, called by God to the profession of Christianity[l]—part whereof is, to believe the Catholic Church, and, by consequence, to be a member of it—but to maintain this profession, not by force, but by suffering rather than renounce it.

[Excommunication not a civil penalty.]

§ 21. Thereupon it follows, that by the original institution of the Church, to be excommunicate, infers no manner of loss in this world, unless it be to the Church that excommunicates, as the Leviathan very truly and pertinently observes, p. 276[m]; inasmuch as, being excommunicate, a man may be moved to seek a course of revenge upon the Church that did it; and yet nevertheless, upon supposition of Christianity, it may well be counted the punishment of not performing that Christianity which a man professeth. For he that does not believe Christianity to be true, or submits not to it, cannot think it any penalty for himself to be shut out of the Church. But he that professeth Christianity, and liveth not according to it, though the penalty which he incurs by transgressing that profession is already incurred in respect of God, yet

[k] See Goldast. Monarchia Rom. Imp.

[l] "God commanded Christianity before He provided the protection of the empire for it."—MSS.

[m] "By which it appears, that upon a Christian, that should become an apostate, in a place where the civil power did persecute, or not assist the Church, the effect of excommunication had nothing in it, neither of damage in this world, nor of terror: not of terror, because of their unbelief, nor of damage, because they are returned thereby into the favour of the world, and in the world to come were to be in no worse estate than they which never had believed. The damage redounded rather to the Church, by provocation of them they cast out, to a freer execution of their malice."—Part iii. chap. 42. London, 1651.

hoping that God will not take the forfeiture which He may take, may count his excommunication, as indeed it is, the loss
77 of the means of salvation, which the communion of the Church importeth.

§ 22. If then it be demanded whether the Church by the original charter of God have power to constrain men by punishment to obedience, the answer is, that absolutely it hath not, but upon supposition it hath. For to him that thinks the communion of the Church no gain, excommunication is no punishment; and therefore no censure tending to excommunication, which is the utmost constraint that the Church can use. But to him that believes the communion of the Church to be the means that God hath ordained for the salvation of particular Christians, as the loss of it is necessarily a punishment, so is the expectation of that loss a constraint, to embrace the condition of retaining it.

[No civil punishment inflicted by the Church.]

§ 23. But as this constraint depends not upon outward force, but upon a persuasion of the mind which goes afore, so doth it not originally enforce any punishment of this world, but only upon supposition of privileges granted by secular powers to the profession of it, or penalties upon not professing it. Which, being accessory to the original constitution of the Church—because all the world knows that from our Lord to Constantine there were no such privileges or penalties—it is manifest to all understandings that he who pretendeth the Church to be a society or visible body by God's appointment, is not obliged to grant that it is endowed with any temporal power of this world, to constrain those who are of it by outward force, because he pretends that it hath power to refuse the communication of those offices, which God is to be served with by Christians to those that perform not their Christianity; which it granteth to those who undertake it.

§ 24. As therefore whatsoever is a condition of obtaining salvation under Christianity is God's law, so whatsoever by virtue of God's law is a just condition of obtaining or holding communion with the Church, that is a law of the Church, supposing the Church to be a visible society of Christians by God's appointment; though we grant not that the loss of this communion imports any change in the worldly quality of any man, by the original constitution of the Church, as it was

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founded by our Lord and His Apostles, but by the privileges necessarily accruing to it, when the powers of the world, professing Christianity, undertake the protection of it.

Of the Oxford doctor's *Paranesis.*

§ 25. But having named these two authors for my adverse parties in this dispute, I am obliged to take notice of the Oxford doctor's[n] late *Paranesis ad ædificatores Imperii in Imperio*, published since the penning of this. For the whole book proceeds from the same oversight which the other two have made, and the very title of it contains. I demand of any man in his right senses whether he can be said to build the Church into an empire, within that empire or sovereignty which maintains it, that challenges no manner of temporal effect for that excommunication, which is the utmost means the Church hath to enforce the sentence of it.

§ 26. They that oblige subjects to depose their sovereigns[o] if the Pope excommunicate them, I confess make both sovereigns and subjects the Pope's vassals, them to rule, and these to obey, at the discretion of him that can excommunicate them if they do not. That the Scottish Presbyterians have done the like, it were easy to shew, were it worth the while, as also from whence they took their rise to do it. And if he please to step over the water again into France[p], I can shew him a more lively picture of an empire erected within an empire, when the reformed Churches there had their civil assemblies, to order the business which should arise upon the privileges which they had purchased by their arms, for the maintaining of their religion by force; whether by right or by wrong I say not here.

[n] "July 14, Lewis Du Moulin, M.D. of the University of Leyden, incorporated in the same degree at Cambridge 10 Oct. 1634, was incorporated in the same degree at Oxon. This person, who was a Frenchman born, and the son of the famous Peter du Moulin, a French Protestant, was lately established Camden's professor of history in this University, by the committee of parliament for the reformation thereof. After the restoration of his majesty, he was turned out of his professorship by his majesty's commissioners for the regulating of the University: whereupon retiring to the city of Westminster, [he] lived there a most violent nonconformist. The books that he hath written are these ..... Paranesis ad Ædificatores Imperii in Imperio, in qua defenduntur Jura Magistratus ..... Londini, 1656. ..... What other books this Lewis du Moulin hath written, I know not, nor any thing else of him, only that he was a fiery, violent, and hot-headed, independent, a cross and illnatured man, and dying on the 20th of Oct. 1680, aged 77 years, was buried within the precincts of the church of St. Paul in Covent Garden, within the liberty of Westminster, in the parish of which he had before lived several years."—Wood's Fasti, Oxon. ad an. 1649. part 2. coll. 125—128. London, 1820.

[o] See note h, sect. 18.

[p] See Heylyn's Ærius Redivivus, lib. ii. Oxford, 1670.

§ 27. But this is the thing which he calleth *Imperium in Imperio*[q], the Pope's temporal power making him rather sovereign above, than within other sovereignties. But I have shewed you already[r] that this opinion never was the faith of the Catholic Church, but the position of the papal faction, disclaimed at this day by the far greater part of that communion, though the contrary being countenanced the more, make the greater appearance. For my own opinion, I have delivered it so clear in my book of the Right of the Church in a Christian State[s], that these authors might, if they pleased to oversee all other divines that deliver the same, by that
78 alone have seen what they had to refute.

§ 28. And truly I do not believe that any of them can allege a more convicting reason against those that build a sovereignty within a sovereignty upon the title of the Church, than that which there is alleged from the unity of the Church, prophesied of in all the promises of the calling of the Gentiles, which the constitution of one visible Church of all Christians fulfilleth. For if the Church of several sovereignties is to be one and the same body, by communicating in the service of God upon supposition of the same faith, then cannot the foundation of it create any title of temporal right, to the prejudice and disturbance of those sovereignties, from whence all force, within their respective territories, is derived.

§ 29. If it be said that the supposition is impossible, to wit, that the Church should have power to ordain, excommunicate, decree, and yet be endowed with no force to constrain those that are obliged to stand to the acts thereof, the reason now alleged to the contrary is evident; for if the obligation of the inward man be of force to resolve a Christian to part with his life to maintain the profession of it; if it be part of that obligation which Christianity createth, to hold communion with God's Church, is not this obligation enough to enforce

[q] Dictum est de natura potestatis, quam tum Judæi, tum imperatores Ethnici et Christiani, tum etiam Christianorum cœtus per trecentos annos post Apostolos habebant, de potestate quam Ecclesia Romana usurpat aliquid dicendum, eam esse perinde indivisam et imitamentum potestates delegatæ ab imperatoribus Christianis foro sacerdotali, hinc liquet, ut ejus fuit supremus judex imperator, sic Papa. . . . . quæ docent perperam vocari a Papa suam hanc potestatem ecclesiasticam, cum revera sit externa, civilis, eaque ad erigendum mysterium iniquitatis et ædificandum imperium in imperio erepta regibus et principibus, et assuta spirituali.—Cap. xxi. pp. 563, 564. Londini, 1656.

[r] Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 1.

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the acts of the Church, and that excommunication which enforces the same?

§ 30. And for experience from the effect, it is but alleging the subsistence of the Church till the time that the Popes Gregory II. and III. withdrew their obedience, and the obedience of those parts of Italy that followed them, from the emperor Leo Isaurus, upon pretence of his erring in the faith in putting down images[t]. For that is the first example which Christendom hath brought forth of temporal freedom from allegiance due to the sovereign, founded upon the title of Christianity. If yet it be evident that this was the case, in which I see there is some difficulty made. But, before this time, it can neither be said that the Church was not the same after Constantine as before, nor that the power of it ever produced any rebellion against the sovereign, upon this title, more than when the martyrs suffered for their Christianity, without defending themselves by force.

[The Oxford doctor denies all power to the Church.]

§ 31. And therefore when this doctor, for the ground of his opinion—as visible to his imagination as the common notions in Euclid—alleges[u] that all power, all jurisdiction, all laws, all

[t] Ex iis quæ retuli, componi potest discrimen, quod intercedit inter Latinos Historicos et Græcos. Theophanes enim eumque secuti Zonaras et Cedrenus docent, Gregorium II. Romam atque Italiam, cæterasque Occidentis provincias ab obedientia imperioque Leonis abduxisse. Nostri vero constanter asserunt, eum in officio populos continuisse, et in fide imperio debita. Itaque dicendum est, ex hæresi a Gregorio damnata, occasionem quidem sumpsisse Italos pellendorum ducum ab imperatore constitutorum; et vectigalium retinendorum, sed illum tantum abfuisse a rebellione fovenda, ut exarchum in integrum restituerit. Vel plane dicendum est, Græcos scriptores ea omnia velut in unum fascem conjecisse, quæ diversis temporibus acciderunt, remque totam ad Gregorium II. retulisse, cujus origo tantum inde peti debeat. Revera enim Gregorius II. Leonem binis literis, sed non excommunicavit, quamvis ita ferat communis opinio quam nos quoque secuti sumus lib. i. cap. i. § 4. Gregorius vero tertius monitum per literas suas principem, inter cæteros, non autem nominatim, excommunicavit in Synodo Romana.—Petr. de Marca, de Concor. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. iii. cap. xi. § 3. pp. 85, 86. Venet. 1770. Pagi, in his notes upon Baronius ad ann. 730. num. 8. denies the popular story; so also Alexander Natalis, Hist. Eccles. sect. 8. dissert. i. tom. xi. p. 168. Bingii ad Rhenum, 1788.

[u] Porro cum totus libri scopus sit, ut probem, locum nullum esse potestati ecclesiasticæ in republica Christiana, nisi includatur potestate summi magistratus; non deerunt etiam in controversia summa, mecum conspirantes, qui culpent, quod eam potestatem summi magistratus, civilem vocem: . . . . . in quam sententiam it R. Tho. Clendonus pastor Londinensis, acris eversor imperii in imperio, qui nupere hæcce nostra legens, enixe instabat uti vocabulis istis civilis et politicæ potestatis, in totum abstinerem. Verum cum nomina κατὰ συνθήκην imponantur rebus, nec quicquam addant aut detrahant rei controversæ, mihi perinde est, sive civilis aut politicæ, sive ecclesiasticæ potestates vocabula retineantur, modo de re constet, quam astruimus, nempe potestatem in foro externo, in republica Christiana, indivisam esse potestatem, tum a pastoribus, Ecclesia, synodis; tum a curiis, comitiis, cœtu

punishment, all government, all appeals, all councils, are derived first, and do lastly resort to the secular power, no less in ecclesiastical than in secular causes, and concerning ecclesiastical as well as secular persons, because all force which constrains obedience is vested in it, his imagination is merely embroiled with equivocation of words. For all power is nothing else but a moral quality[x], consisting in the right of obliging other men's wills—those in respect of whom the power holds—by the act of his or their wills that have it.

§ 32. And what shall hinder God to create such an obligation upon the consciences of Christians, by virtue of their Christianity, not allowing them any force to enact it, but the denial of the communion of the Church? Whether the rules of the Church be called laws or canons, he that is tied to hold communion with the Church is tied to observe those rules by which it subsists, and if he do not, deserves to be set aside, rather than the unity thereof perish. Whether ye call them magistrates or elders that are appointed to govern the Church, it matters not, if by virtue of God's law the obligation of obeying them be evident in the Scriptures. Whether it be properly called jurisdiction or not, when a Christian is censured to be put out of the Church, it shall have the same effect with that jurisdiction whereby a malefactor is put out of the world, according as the correspondence between the Church and the state will bear it. How this may be counted punishment, how not, I will not say again, having said it already[y].

[Of appeals to the secular power.]

§ 33. In all causes and concerning all persons, I acknowledge there lies an appeal to the sovereign, the Church having to do only in ecclesiastical causes, concerning men as they are members of the Church, and so accidentally—when the Church is as large as the state, all acknowledging the same Church—the jurisdiction thereof, whether properly so called or not, extending to as many as that of the state. For the

ducum, familiis, societatibus quibuscunque habitam, in quibus legibus ab eis latis, homines vel ad obsequium, vel ad pœnam obstringuntur, unam esse, et ab uno summo magistratu emanare, et derivari; neque eatenus divisam, ut dentur duæ potestates coordinatæ in republica Christiana, quarum altera a viris ecclesiasticis, altera a laicis sustineatur, sed plane alteram alteri subordinari.—Paræsesis, cap. ii. pp. 42, 43. Londini, 1656.

[x] Jurisdictio autem, sicut et dominium, non consistit in qualitate physica, sed in jure, et potestate morali.—Suarez de Legibus, lib. iv. cap. 1. § 7. p. 209. Londini, 1679.

[y] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 46.

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last appeal is one of those *jura majestatis*, or prerogatives wherein sovereignty consisteth, neither is it alienable, though 79
it is limitable by those terms which Christianity, when it is acknowledged to come from God, establisheth. On the other side, the power of the Church, though never so evidently settled by Christianity, may be abused not only when it is extended to some temporal effect, but also when it is extended beyond the ground and reason of that Christianity which it presupposeth. Instances you have of both, in the claims of temporal power and infallibility in behalf of the Church.

§ 34. And as there lies an appeal to a heathen sovereign, professing not to persecute his subjects for their Christianity, but to protect them in it, upon pretence that it is extended to a temporal effect, so may there lie an appeal to a Christian sovereign upon pretence that it is extended beyond the bounds which Christianity alloweth. So the council of Antiochia[z] appealed to Aurelian, because Paulus Samosatenus protected himself in his house, belonging to the Church, by power derived from him. But he alloweth them that trial which Christianity settleth. So Constantine[a] received the appeal of the Donatists, but referred the trial to the Church, in a council at Rome, and again another at Arles, representing all the West.

§ 35. But of the bounds of secular and ecclesiastical power I must speak again[b]. That the ecclesiastical may be from God, though limitable by the secular, hitherto this is evidence. As for the holding of councils, I marvel to see this doctor so securely to dream[c], that the calling of them all be-

[z] See chap. x. sect. 22.

[a] Scitote quod primi majores vestri causam Cæciliani ad imperatorem Constantinum detulerunt. Exigite hoc a nobis, probemus vobis, et si non probaverimus, facite de nobis quicquid potueritis. Sed quia Constantinus non est ausus de causa Episcopi judicare, eam discutiendam atque finiendam Episcopis delegavit. Quod et factum est in urbe Roma, præsidente Melchiade Episcopo illius Ecclesiæ cum multis collegis suis. Qui cum Cæcilianum innocentem pronuntiassent, et Donatum, qui schisma Carthagini fecerat, sententia percussissent, iterum vestri ad imperatorem venerunt, de judicio Episcoporum, in quo victi fuerant, murmurarunt. Quomodo enim potest malus litigator laudare judices, quibus judicantibus victus est? Iterum tamen clementissimus imperator alios judices Episcopos dedit apud Arelatum Galliæ civitatem, et ab ipsis vestri ad ipsum imperatorem appellarunt donec etiam ipse causam cognosceret, et Cæcilianum innocentem, illos calumniosos pronuntiaret.—S. Augustini ad Donat. Ep., cap. v. § 8. tom. ii. col. 299. ed. Ben.

[b] See below, chap. xix.; and book iii. chap. xxxii.

[c] Cum autem fora sacerdotalia legislationem nullam haberent, sed tantum jurisdictionem, eamque delegatam ab imperatoribus, solebant canonibus vim legum imprimere; . . . . . leges ergo ferre de omnibus rebus de quibus synodi judicabant, perinde ad imperatorium judicium pertinebat, ac de

longs only to the state, and that it were an usurpation in the Church to hold any but by commission from it; for he is not ignorant how many synods were held by the Church afore Constantine, and that upon the same right as those meetings of the Apostles, which, I have shewed[d], had the power and force of general councils, without asking leave either of Jews or Romans. Which is enough, for the present purpose, to infringe the argument made by this doctor in the former part of his book: not that there is no Church, but that there can be none where there is a state[e].

§ 36. Wherein he outvieth his master, in the first book *de Synedriis*[f], who, having granted that the excommunications of Christians were taken up by the voluntary consent of Churches, hath by consequence granted that the Church was a Church, that is, a corporation, before Constantine. And therefore I refer the consideration of the time after Constantine, till I speak of the bounds of ecclesiastical and civil power in Church matters; where it will as easily appear, a it is easy to looks into any record of the Church, that the holding of synods was a matter of course and canon and custom, allowed indeed by the empire, but constituted and limited by the Church. Not because the state might not have forbidden them—had they gone beyond the bounds of that right which the constitution

iisdem jus dicere de quibus fora cognoscebant ad ejus imperium et jurisdictionem: potestasque omnis, tum legislationis tum jurisdictionis, de re quacunque, et in quocunque foro, in uno imperatore unita erat, nisi nostri ædificatores imperii in imperio eis tribuant duplicem potestatem, quædam ab eo præstita et decreta potestate civili, nonnulla potestate ecclesiastica definita et sancita; . . . .

Indictionem synodorum potestatis et juris imperatorii fuisse est in confesso, ...

Sane quisquis bene gnarus erit historiæ ecclesiasticæ, compererit, cœtus Christianorum non aliam potestatem habuisse et exercuisse ab ea quam in se merito transtulerunt Christiani imperatores, ut quod alterius jure lege, imperio et coercitione faciebant Christiani cœtus sub Christianis imperatoribus, id ex pacto mutuo et per confœderatam disciplinam peragerent sub Ethnicis. Sic cum ad potestatem Constanti[n]i . . . Christianam religionem convocare synodos, jejunia indicere pertineret; idem tamen modo præstitum fuit, imperio nondum Christiano a Paphnutio, Osio, Eustatio et aliis; hi authoritate sua, ille potestate, convocaverint synodos.—Parænesis, cap. xxi. pp. 538, 539, 542. Londini, 1651.

[d] Chap. viii. sects. 9—13.

[e] Verum ubi summus magistratus veræ religionis est cultor, disciplina quæ prius confœderata erat et arbitraria, transit in jus et leges imperantis; nec classes et synodi aliam habent potestatem in foro externo præter vicariam et delegatam a summa potestate: et eatenus necessaria sunt concilia, quatenus ad bonum universitatis necesse habet sapientes, consultos, et peritos in concilium vocare, ad ferendum leges, quibus latis, pie, juste, sobrie, et tranquille inter omnis ordinis homines et societates vivatur.—Parænesis, cap. i. p. 4. Londini, 1651.

[f] See chap. ii. sect. 11; chap. xviii. sects. 56—62.

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of the Church establisheth, justly; unjustly if they had not; so that the power of forbidding to be just, the use of it unjust;—but that the Church was yet unacquainted with the motives of transgressing those bounds, and so the state had no just cause to interpose.

§ 37. Of general councils I say not the same. Not as if the Church afore Constantine had usurped a right not due, had it assembled by representatives in a general council; but whether such assemblies were forborne, as matter of more jealousy to the state, than either ordinary meetings for the service of God, or synods; or of more charge to the Church; it must be acknowledged that the first general council of Nicæa could not have been assembled, without the command as well as the charge of Constantine; that other general councils were never assembled without the concurrence of the chief powers of Christendom; that every sovereign hath a power to command the presence of every subject, where and when he shall please; and that Constantius, when he constrained the council of Ariminum[g] to sit against their will, to the prejudice of the respective Churches—on purpose by this duress, and the opportunities of time to bring them to his will—abused his power indeed, but usurped it not.

§ 38. For if the constitution of the Church be no ground for any temporal right, then can no quality in the Church exempt any man from the service, which, as a member of the commonwealth, he owes his sovereign. But whether they acted by commission from Constantius, or by the quality they held in the Church, the success of his design witnesseth. For, as I have shewed you[h], that without being assembled, 80

[g] Ἱκετεύομεν δὲ ἔτι, ἵνα κελεύσῃς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοδαπαῖς διατρίβοντας, οὓς καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπίπονον, καὶ τὸ τῆς πενίας ἐνδεὲς τρύχει, τὴν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἀνακομιδὴν ῥᾳδίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἔρημοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων αἱ ἐκκλησίαι διαμένωσιν ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ἅπασι καὶ τοῦτο δεόμεθα, ἵνα μή τε ἐλλείπῃ τι τῶν προϋπαρξάντων, μήτε πλεονάζῃ ἀλλὰ πάντα ἄῤῥηκτα διαμένῃ ἐκ τῆς σοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας, καὶ εἰς τὸν νῦν χρόνον διαφυλαττόμενα. μήτε λοιπὸν ἡπᾶς μοχθεῖν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν ἰδίων παροικιῶν ἀλλοτρίους ἐπιτρεψείας γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ ἐπίσκοποι συν τοῖς ἰδίοις λαοῖς μετ' εἰρήνης εἰς εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας σχολὴν ἄγοιεν, ...—Epist. Synodi Ariminensis, Socrat. Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. p. 138. ed. Vales.

[h] Chap. viii. sects. 13—15. See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 5.

[i] Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι συνορᾷ μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ σὴ ἡμερότης, ὅση νῦν ἐστὶ λύπη καὶ κατήφεια, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς σοῖς μακαριωτάτοις καιροῖς, τοσαῦται ἐκκλησίαι χωρὶς ἐπισκόπων εἰσί. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀξιοῦμεν, κύριε θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ὅπως πρὸ τῆς τραχύτητος τῶν χειμώνων, εἰπὲρ ἀρέσειε τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, κελεύσεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας ἐπανελθεῖν.—*Ib.*, p. 140. ed. Vales.

they had both right obliging them, and means enabling them to maintain the faith by mutual intelligence and correspondence: so, being assembled alters nothing in the case saving the opportunity it giveth to employ their right to that end which their quality pretendeth; their assembling upon his command signifying no trust which they undertook to him, prejudicial to that which their quality in the Church importeth.

§ 39. Having said this in general, to that general argument upon which this doctor pretends to build his opinion, I am content to turn my reader loose to him, provided he be content to consider also that which shall be found requisite to be said, when I have done with his two predecessors[1].

CHAPTER XII.

THAT THE LAW EXPRESSLY COVENANTED FOR THE LAND OF PROMISE. A GREAT OBJECTION AGAINST THIS, FROM THE GREAT PRECEPT OF THE LAW. THE HOPE OF THE WORLD TO COME UNDER THE LAW, AND THE OBEDIENCE WHICH IT REQUIRETH, WAS GROUNDED UPON REASON FROM THE TRUE GOD, THE TRADITION OF THE FATHERS, AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS. THE LOVE OF GOD ABOVE ALL BY THE LAW EXTENDETH NO FURTHER THAN THE PRECEPTS OF THE LAW, THE LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOUR ONLY TO JEWS. OF THE CEREMONIAL, JUDICIAL, AND MORAL LAW.

That the law expressly covenanted for the land of promise.

So much difference as there is between these two or these three opinions, and the reasons upon which they proceed, it is manifest that the issue and pretence of all is the same; that there is no such thing as a Church, understanding by that name a visible society or corporation of all Christian people subsisting, or that ought to subsist, by a charter from God, one and the same from the first to the second coming of Christ. Which therefore remains distinct from all states and sovereignties that profess Christianity by the rights upon which it subsists, though the persons of which both consist may be the same, if it so fall out that Christianity be professed by all the sovereign powers under which there are Christians.

§ 2. But that is the reason why I am forced to quote both authors and opinions by name, which in other points I shall avoid; not only because I would be as short in this abridgment as my design will bear, but because nothing seems to me

[1] See below, chap. xx.

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more odious, or further from the profession of a Christian, than the affectation of contradicting the opinions of men in repute for learning, which therefore I would have avoided by silencing the names of these, had I not found so much difference in the means from which they would infer the same consequence.

§ 3. And truly the Leviathan hath done like a philosopher, in making the question general that is general indeed, and giving that resolution of all the branches of it, without which, whatsoever is said to some parts of it, leaves the whole unresolved while any part so remains. Those that only dispute the power of excommunication, are nevertheless to give account what right the secular power can have to appoint the persons, that shall either determine or execute matters of religion, to decide controversies of faith, to minister the Sacraments—which they may do themselves by much better title than by their deputies—than if they resolved and maintained all this as expressly as the Leviathan[k] hath done.

§ 4. It may be indeed he hath made his resolution more subject to be contradicted, by so freely and generously declaring it; but whosoever shall undertake the same pretence, will stand no less obliged to God and to His Church, to give account how every part of that power, which, as well before as since Constantine, hath been exercised by the Church, should henceforth be exercised by secular powers without prejudice to Christianity, before he go about to void it; though he give not the truth so much advantage against himself, because he expresses not so much of his meaning. For my part, as I found it necessary, so I find it sufficient to have quoted these opinions and reasons, advanced against the right of the Church, because I find they oblige me to dig for a foundation, upon which, as the true ground of that right

[k] "But if every Christian sovereign be the supreme pastor of his own subjects, it seemeth that he hath also the authority, not only to preach—which perhaps no man will deny—but also to baptize, and to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to consecrate both temples and pastors to God's service, which most men deny.

"From this consolidation of the right politic and ecclesiastic in Christian sovereigns, it is evident they have all manner of power over their subjects that can be given to man, for the government of men's external actions, both in policy and religion, and may make such laws as themselves shall judge fittest for the government of their own subjects, both as they are the commonwealth, and as they are the Church, for both state and Church are the same men."—Chap. 42. part iii. pp. 297, 299. London, 1651.

which the Church claimeth, I may be enabled to dissolve
81 whatsoever reasons, wit and learning, impregnated by passion or interest, can invent to contradict the same.

§ 5. Here then I must have recourse to a position which some men will count hazardous, others prejudicial to Christianity, according as their prejudices or engagements may work; but will appear in truth, to them that shall take the pains to look through the consequences of it, in the resolution of controversies which divide the Church, to concern the interest of Christianity, and the peace of the Church, more than any point whatsoever, that is not of the foundation of faith. Inasmuch as there is no question which is started, or can be started—as the case is now with the Church, so as to call in question the peace and unity thereof—but the interpretation of the Old Testament, or some part of it, in relation and correspondence to the New Testament, will be engaged in it.

[Everlasting life not promised in the law.]

§ 6. Concerning which, the position that I intend to advance is this; that by the law of Moses, and the covenant between God and the people of Israel upon it, nothing at all was expressly contracted concerning everlasting life and the happiness of the world to come. Not that I intend to say that there was not at that time sufficient ground for a man to be competently persuaded of his right to it, or sufficient means to come to the knowledge of that ground—for he that should say this, could not give account how the fathers should attain salvation under the law—which I find all that maintain the truth of Christianity against the Jews so obliged to do, that without it they must give up the game.

§ 7. But that the thing contracted for between God and the people of Israel, by the mediation of Moses, was the land of promise—that is to say, that they should be a free people, and enjoy their own laws in the possession of it—upon condition of embracing and observing such laws as God should give. As for the kingdom of heaven, which the Gospel of Christ preacheth, the hope of it was so mystically intimated, that there was sufficient cause to embrace it even then, but not propounded as the condition upon which God offered to contract with them, as He doth with Christians. And this, though I cannot say that the Church hath at any time expressed to be a part of the rule of faith, yet that the Church

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hath always implicitly admitted it for a part of the reason of faith, which we call divinity, I must and do maintain.

A great objection against this from the great precept of the law.

§ 8. Before I come to prove this, I will here propound one objection, because it seems to contain the force of all that is to be said against it. For when our Lord says, Matt. xix. 17, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments;" when He resolves the great commandments of the law to be the love of God above all things, and of our neighbour as of ourselves, Matt. xxii. 36—40: in fine, wheresoever He derives the duties of Christianity from the law of Moses, He seems to suppose, and so do His Apostles, that the same life everlasting which He promiseth by the Gospel was proposed by the law, as the reward for observing it.

§ 9. And indeed, what can the Gospel propound, for a more suitable way or means to salvation, than the love of God and man, in that order which the law of God appointeth? It is not for nothing that St. Augustine observeth[l], the first commandment of the decalogue, to acknowledge God, and the last, not to covet that which is another man's, to contain in them the utmost office of a Christian; and all divines have distributed the precepts of Moses's law, into moral as well as judicial and ceremonial; the moral precepts containing in them no less than the duties of Christianity, when they are done with such an intent as God—Who by giving Moses's law declareth Himself to see the most inward of the heart—requireth.

The hope of the world to come under the law, and the obedience which it requir-

§ 10. Here, in the first place—supposing that God[m], entering into covenant with that people, intended to establish their civil government by the law of Moses—I will proceed to argue, that all civil laws that are not contrary to the law of nature, and the actions by them enjoined or prohibited, may be done or not done for two several reasons: for if there be

[l] Si diceretur nobis, Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, et de proximo nostro nihil diceretur, non esset dechacordum, sed trichordum. Quia vero addidit Dominus, Et diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum; et contexuit dicens, In his duobus præceptis tota lex pendet et Prophetæ: tota lex in duobus præceptis est, in dilectione Dei et dilectione proximi; ad duo itaque præcepta, id est ad dilectionem Dei et proximi pertinet Decalogus.—S. August., Serm. ix. *de decem Chordis*, tom. v. col. 53. ed. Ben.

[m] "Here I will proceed to the resolution of these difficulties, by arguing in the first place—without expressing what follows in the second or third, being really and materially contained in the discourse—for a ground to the answer which follows. p. 85."—MSS. See sect. 25. below.

reason enough for the nations that know not God, nor ground their laws upon any presumption of His will, or expectation of good or evil from Him, to unite themselves in civil society, then is there reason enough for them to observe the laws
82 upon which the benefit of civil society is to be had, though they suppose not themselves obliged by God to them, nor to oblige God by keeping them. And if it be evident that all civil laws, not contrary to the laws of God and nature, do come from God, as civil society doth, it will be as evident that the keeping of them in that regard and for that consideration is obedience to God.

eth, was grounded upon reason from the true God.

§ 11. The Jews' civil law hath this privilege above the civil laws of other nations, to be grounded upon those acts, whereby God, revealing Himself for their freedom by Moses, tendereth them the land promised to their fathers upon the covenant they then had with God, upon condition of undertaking the laws which He should give them for the future. And no reason can deny that this was sufficient to convince them that God required of them not only the work which the law specified, but that it be done in consideration of His will, and in reference to His honour and service; though on the other side it is not necessary to grant that so much is expressed by the civil law of that nation, expressly tending to their civil freedom and happiness, in the possession of the land of promise.

§ 12. It cannot be doubted that the immortality of the soul, and the reward of good and bad after death, was received among that people, from and before the time of receiving the law; otherwise, how should the patriarchs obtain it, which the maintenance of Christianity requireth that they did obtain? It is also evident by the Scriptures, that the same conversation which Christ and His Apostles preached, was extant in the lives and actions of the fathers before the law, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, and the rest, as the fathers of the Church[n] are wont to argue against the Jews, that Christianity is more ancient than Judaism.

[The Jews had knowledge of things revealed by the Gospel.]

[n] Nec quisquam arbitretur antequam esset populus Christianus, nullum fuisse populum Deo. Immo vero, ut sic loquar, quemadmodum se veritas habet, non nominum consuetudo, Christianus etiam ille tunc populus fuit.—S. Augustin., Serm. cccl. *in solemnitate SS. Machabæorum*, tom. v. coll. 1218, 1219. ed. Ben. See also Tertullian's book *adversus Judæos*.

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§ 13. It is also manifest that the same conversation was extant, and to be seen under the law, in the lives of the prophets and their disciples, by the words of our Lord to the scribes and Pharisees, Matt. xxiii. 29—36, when He chargeth them, that professing to honour the prophets by building their monuments, but hating Himself and His Apostles, they made themselves the heirs of those that killed the prophets; and pursuing the same discourse, addeth, that He would send them prophets and scribes and wise men—which were His Apostles and disciples—whom they should crucify, and scourge, and persecute from city to city, that all the righteous blood that had been shed from Abel to Zacharias son of Barachias might come on their heads. The same is testified by the Apostle, Heb. xi. 36—38, where having through the whole chapter shewed that the fathers before and under the law were saved by faith, as Christians are, he addeth; "Others had trial of mockings, and scourgings, and bands, and imprisonment, were stoned, were sawed asunder, were tempted, died by the sword, went about in sheepskins and goatskins, wanting, afflicted and distressed, of whom the world was not worthy, wandering in deserts, upon mountains, in caves and holes under ground."

§ 14. Which being the condition of the Christians to whom he writes—exhorting them by all that Epistle to endure persecution of the Jews, rather than to deny Christianity by turning to the law, which the Jews endeavoured to force them to by raising them trouble—makes it manifest that the same righteousness for which the Jews then persecuted the Christians, was that for which their fathers had persecuted the prophets and other righteous men under the law. And he that shall make trial to maintain the truth of Christianity against the Jews, that acknowledge all the Old Testament as well as we, shall find that the fathers of the Church have reason, when they allege this against the Jews, to shew that the salvation which the patriarchs and prophets and other righteous men before and under the law obtained, was not by Judaism, but by Christianity, Eusebius by name, *de Demonstr. Evang.*, lib. i.[o]

[o] Καὶ πρό γε τούτου ὁ Ἐνὼχ, ... οὔτ' ἔτι τῆς Μωσέως μετῆει νομοθεσίας, ἀντικρυς δὲ Χριστιανικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῶν ἀναπέφηνε. Καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ἀβραὰμ, ... πρὸ δέ γε τῆς παιδοποιΐας, καὶ πρὸ τῆς περιτομῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων ἀναχωρήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ ὁμολογίας,

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§ 15. There was no need then that the law should condition that this should be believed, and it was agreeable to the immediate intent of the law only to suppose it. For at that time, by reason of their deliverance out of Egypt, they did acknowledge God to be the only true God, searcher of hearts, and judge of the world to come. Though formerly they had been tainted with the idolatries of the Egyptians, as by the prophet Ezekiel, xx. 7, 8, and their often relapses to idolatry, upon occasion of the company that joined themselves to them
83 when they came out of Egypt, Exod. xii. 38, Num. xi. 4, Exod. xvi. 2, xxxii. 1, may appear. Therefore this law being tendered for the civil law of that people, it is not strange that He should covenant with them no further than that they should expressly acknowledge Him for their God in opposition to all other pretended gods, and serve Him by such ceremonies as He should appoint; governing their civil life by such laws as He should allow an interest in the land of promise to those that should observe, having appointed those to be cut off from it that should not observe the same.

[The true intent of the law.]

§ 16. Though, this being the immediate intent of the law, another principal and utter intent of it must be acknowledged, to make way for that inward and spiritual righteousness which the Gospel requireth. For those who by the temporal punishment of the law should be constrained to yield outward obedience to it, and abstain from such evil deeds as should put them out of the protection of it, being assured by the doctrine of their fathers before the law, maintained by the prophets under the law, of God's particular providence, and the immortality of the soul, and the reward of good and bad, according to that spiritual righteousness which they themselves lived in, were thereby sufficiently obliged to obey God, not only as their sovereign in this world civilly, but inwardly and spiritually, as Him whom they expected to be judged by, and remain with everlastingly in the world to come.

§ 17. For as the necessity of Christ's coming is necessary to the maintenance of Christianity, so it is also necessary to the same purpose, that we maintain this coming of His to have been foretold and signified by the Old Testament, and

καὶ διὰ μόνου τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου δείκνυται Χριστιανικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς βεβιωκώς.—Cap. vi. p. 13. Paris. 1628.

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yet the intent of it not covenanted for, because the intent of His coming was to covenant for it; which had it been covenanted for by the law, He should not have needed to come, for the purpose of introducing and establishing a covenant, which was already effectually accepted and in force, nor to do the miracles which yet serve not to convince the Jews that this was the intent of the law, so far were they from being convinced without them.

§ 18. True it is indeed, that though this covenant had been established by the law and accepted by God's people, the coming and miracles of Christ would have been no less necessary to introduce the faith of the Holy Trinity. But it is manifest that the revelation of that faith was necessary, as the means to procure this covenant to be accepted as obtained by the Son and made effectual by the Spirit. And therefore the coming of Christ tending to convince the world thereof, it is manifest that the end for which the world was to be convinced thereof—that is to say, that the covenant of the Gospel might be accepted—was not in effect before, nor brought to pass without it.

§ 19. I do therefore much approve of the comparison which Grotius[p] hath made between Moses's law and the Roman laws, which had their rise from the prætors' edicts; who, being annual magistrates, and having a great jurisdiction in their hands, were wont, because at the first written laws were not provided, to signify at their entrance, by posting up an edict, what pleas they would receive and give process to; but so that of course they retained the most points which their predecessors had declared, which therefore being translated of course out of this year's edict into the next, were called *tralatitia*, and thereupon all things that are customary and usual, are properly called *tralatitia*[q] in Latin.

§ 20. We must understand further, that the fathers afore the law had separated themselves from the nations—that had fallen and were falling away every day from the true God to the worship of idols—not only by acknowledging and serving the only true God, but by very many laws and customs, whereby they ruled their families and inferiors in religion

[p] The editor has failed to ascertain where this occurs in Grotius's works.

[q] See Preface, sect. 13. and the note i there.

and justice among themselves. It must therefore be concluded that those principles upon which their religion stood, were not blotted out when they received that taint of Egyptian idolatries, but remained in force and virtue among them, at such time as, by receiving the law becoming a free state, they undertook to serve God, and to govern themselves according to the laws which He should give.

[Customs older than the law allowed under it.]

§ 21. For it is evident that divers laws and customs which were in force among them before the law, are presupposed and further limited by the law, and therefore not introduced
81 by it but derived from the fathers, as our Lord observeth of circumcision, John vii. 22. Such was the law of mourning for the dead, so much in force at giving the law, that upon the death of Aaron's sons it was necessary that a law should presently come forth interdicting the priests to mourn for them upon pain of death, the rest of the people remaining under that law; though Aaron thereupon excuses himself that they did not feast upon the sin offering upon that day of mourning, and is accepted, Levit. x. 5—19. This the law introduceth not, but was in force under the fathers, as we see Gen. l. 3, 10; xxvii. 41.

[Instances thereof.]

§ 22. The same is to be said of the seven days in which marriages were celebrated under the law, as we see in Samson, Judges xiv. 12, 15, 17, which is doubled Tobit viii. 19, nowhere introduced by the law, no more than the seven days, or seventy days, or thirty days of mourning, Gen. l. 3; Deut. xxxiv. 8. The like of answering adjurations, which the law, Levit. v. 1, presupposes, as also Prov. xxix. 24, as a duty then received, that if a man conjure all that know any thing of his business to declare what they know, all that hear him stand bound to declare their knowledge in it. For, for this cause it is, that the law supposing him guilty of perjury that conceals his knowledge in that case, makes him liable to the sacrifice for expiation of perjury, as you may see Levit. v. 1. And by virtue of this custom among God's people, not only stood they bound to answer the high-priest as our Lord answers Caiaphas, Matt. xxvi. 63, or the king, 1 Kings xxii. 18, 2 Chron. xviii. 15, Jos. vii. 19, John ix. 24, but also private men, in the court where their cause was hearing, adjuring all that were present to testify their knowledge in their causes, if we believe the Jews' cons

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[in the cases of tithes and vows.]

§ 23. In like manner we have nothing ordained in the law that tithes should be paid, or that it should be lawful or acceptable to God to consecrate any other part of their goods to the service of God, or to make vows of abstinence from things otherwise lawful; but we have it determined by the law what kinds shall be titheable, what vows shall stand good, what sacrifice shall be offered by him that transgresses his vow, how every thing that a man freely consecrates to the service of God shall be valued in money, Levit. xxvii. 1—30; Psalm xv. 4; Gen. xiv. 20; xxviii. 22; Num. xviii. 29. The like is to be said of many other laws, which being in the Old Testament mentioned as in force by custom, and nowhere introduced by the law of Moses, must be presumed to descend by tradition from the fathers. Which he that believes, as it cannot be doubted, must of necessity acknowledge that not only the principles and grounds of spiritual and inward obedience to God for God's sake, but also the precepts wherein it consists, are rather presupposed by the law than introduced by it; and therefore may well be said to be translated out of the law of nature into Moses's law, when they are mentioned by it.

The tradition of the fathers and the doctrine of the prophets.

§ 24. Though hereunto I must add this, that they had not only the doctrine of their fathers afore the law to introduce and to regulate this inward obedience, but the prophets under the law. The intent of whose office was not only to reclaim them from idols to their own true God, but also to instruct them wherein consisted not so much that civil and outward observation of His law, which it promiseth to reward with temporal happiness in the land of promise, as that spiritual and inward obedience to God, from which they might conceive competent ground of hope toward the world to come. Every man knows how ready they were to fall from God all the time, whereof we have the records in the Scriptures, before the captivity of Babylon.

§ 25. After that time we do not find that ever they fell to the worship of idols, but we find abundantly by the reproofs of the scribes and Pharisees by our Lord in the Gospels, that the next sin to it, of superstition and hypocrisy, was soon come in instead of it; when, by the outward observation of the ceremonial and judicial laws, they promised themselves the favour of God and the reward of the world to come. As

by paying tithes precisely, Matt. xxiii. 23; Luke xi. 42; xviii. 12: by washing their hands and vessels according to the tradition of their predecessors, Mark vii. 4, 8; Matt. xxiii. 85 25, 26; Luke xi. 39: by punctually observing the Sabbath, Matt. xii. 1—12; Mark ii. 23—28; Luke vi. 1—9; xiii. 10—16; xiv. 1—5; John v. 9, 10: enlarging their phylacteries and fringes, Matt. xxiii. 5: by many things more, which are to be read up and down the Gospels.

§ 26. This disease could not have been reproved by our Lord by the testimony of the prophet Esay, Matt. xv. 7—9, Mark vii. 6, Esa. xxix. 13, had it not taken root even before the captivity, when as yet they were so subject to fall to the worship of false gods. Therefore we find the reproof of this superstitious and hypocritical confidence in the sacrifices which they thought to bribe God with, and other outward performances of the law, to be the ordinary work of the most part of the prophets, David, Ps. xl. 7, 12; Ps. l. 8—13; li. 16, 17. The prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 22. The prophet Esay, of sacrifices and festivals, Esa. i. 11—20. Of their fasts, Esa. lviii. 3—10. Of their serving God by traditions, Esa. xxix. 13. The prophet Jeremy, that God required not sacrifices but obedience, Jer. vii. 21—23; and concerning patience and hope in the afflictions which He sendeth, Lam. iii. 25—33. The prophet Hosea, in the "calves of our lips," Hosea xiv. 2. The prophet Micah, when he teacheth what they should come before God with, Micah vi. 6—8. The prophet Zachary, of celebrating their fasts, Zac. vii. 3—10; viii. 16, 19.

§ 27. In fine, all the prophets in their instructions and exhortations to the inward obedience of God in spirit and in truth, have shewed themselves true forerunners of our Lord Christ and His Apostles; not only in preaching the principal intent of the law to be the same which the Gospel pretends to covenant for, but in suffering—as well for this as for reproving idolaters—at the hands of those that taught for doctrines the traditions of men, the like things as our Lord and His Apostles suffered for the same cause at the hands of the scribes and Pharisees.

§ 28. First then the acknowledgment of one God that disposeth of all things, and knows the secrets of all hearts, ex-

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pressly covenanted for by Moses's law, by consequence of right reason infers the duty of spiritual obedience to Him in all His commands; secondly, the fathers before the law had delivered, the prophets after the law did preach the same, no less than they did the acknowledgment of the true God, but more principally than the outward observation of the ceremonial or civil precept of it; therefore there might be, and was, sufficient means under the law, to make them understand their obligation to that spiritual obedience which the Gospel covenanteth for, though we suppose, as the truth is, that the law expressly covenanteth only for the temporal happiness of the land of promise: therefore there was also sufficient means to oblige them to expect the coming of the Christ, as we see by the Gospel that they did at the coming of our Lord, and as all that will maintain Christianity against the Jews are bound to maintain.

The love of God above all by the law extendeth no further than the precepts of the law.

§ 29. And therefore to the objection proposed[r], I answer, that though the words of the precept of loving God "with all the heart, and all the mind, and all the soul, and all the might," may contain all that Christianity requireth to be done in consideration of duty to God, and with an intent of His honour and service; yet nevertheless that sense thereof that depends upon the covenant of the law, is to be limited to the observation of those precepts which God should confine their civil life to, in the service of Him alone; the intent of the covenant being to contract with God for temporal happiness in the land of promise, they undertaking as a commonwealth to live by such civil laws as He should give, as well as to worship Him by such ceremonies as He should prescribe.

§ 30. And therefore, supposing they observed those precepts, they were to expect the inheritance of the land of promise, though we suppose that they did it out of respect to that reward, and not only to God and to His honour and service. Yea, though we grant that for the acknowledging of the true God alone, they were bound to endure persecution and death, rather than for fear of torment to deny God, or sacrifice to idols, or renounce His law, as we see Daniel and the three children did under Nebuchadnezzar, and the zealous Jews in the Maccabees' time under Antiochus Epiphanes.

[r] See sect. 8. above.

§ 31. For if the heathen had cause to believe—that which is received of all, as the ground of civil society—that parti- 86 cular persons are bound to expose their lives for the defence of their country—that is, to no other end but that they may live and die in the laws under which they are bred—though they had no promise of God that they should hold their inheritance of this world by maintaining them; certainly, the people that obtained their inheritance by taking upon them Moses's law, shall stand bound, not only to maintain it by the sword under the conduct of their sovereigns, but also by suffering for it when they were not to maintain it by force; a thing nothing strange to a man that shall consider how desirable life is to him that is forced from the laws of his country.

The love of our neighbour only to Jews.

§ 32. As for the other part of loving our neighbour as ourselves, it is without doubt pregnant with an evident argument of this truth, seeing in plain reason the extent of the precept might so argue the intent of it: for it is evident by infinite texts of the law, that a man's neighbour, in this precept, extends no further than to Israelites, whether by birth or by religion, that is to say, those that are engraffed into the covenant by being circumcised. For example: let me ask how the law could forbid the Israelites to seek the good of the Moabites and Ammonites, if it be part of the same law, to love all men under the quality of neighbours as themselves. Let me demand of any man how Mordecai was tied not to do that honour to Haman, that his sovereign commanded to be done. How he could in conscience disobey his prince in a matter of indifferent nature of itself, had it not been prohibited by the law of God. Whether a Jew that is commanded by the law to profess hostility against all Amalekites, could be dispensed with in this obligation by any act of his sovereign. Whether any just reason can be alleged for Mordecai but this.

§ 33. Nay, those who are called strangers in the law; that is to say, those that had renounced all idols, and professed to worship the true God, and thereupon were privileged to dwell in the land of promise, out of which the Israelites were sufficiently commanded to root all idolaters, those strangers I say, by the letter of Moses's law, are not comprehended in the precept of loving our neighbour as ourselves

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asked who is the neighbour that the law speaks of, Luke x. 27—37, is not convicted by our Lord by any letter of the law, but by a parable, intimating the example of that which He did for mankind to be the reason of that which the Gospel requires. Forsooth if the love of Christians extend to strangers and enemies, because the good Samaritan, which is our Lord Christ, extended His so far, then not because Moses's law had covenanted for it.

§ 34. Therefore beside this precept of loving our neighbours as ourselves, it was requisite that the law should, by a particular provision, limit their respect and tenderness wherewith they were required to use those strangers as converts to the true God—for so the Syriac translation of the law calls them always—to wit, in the rank of widows and orphans.

§ 35. If this be true, the precept of not coveting, by the immediate intent of Moses's law, stands confined to that sense which the Jews at this day give it, according to the decisions of their doctors, that no man, by contrived oppression or vexation, design to force his neighbour, that was by the law enabled to make a divorce, to part with his wife, or any thing else that he called his own[s]. Which sense our Lord also in the Gospel manifestly favours, Mark x. 19, where, recounting the precepts that those must keep that will inherit life everlasting, after "thou shalt not bear false witness," He infers, "thou shalt not take away," by fraud or oppression, "that which is another man's," for the sense of the tenth commandment, thou shalt not covet that which is thy neighbour's; all which extendeth no further than the overt act of seeking what is not a man's own.

§ 36. And though this be our Lord's answer to him that asks what he is to do to obtain life everlasting, yet it may well seem that our Lord intended first to propound unto him the civil law of Moses as necessary to salvation, and a step towards it, because the Gospel saith that our Lord loved him that answered, "all these things have I kept from my youth up," as acknowledging that he said true; for that he had kept these precepts in that spiritual sense, and to the intent and purpose

[s] "Had the law spoken to Christians, it had been in vain to command not to seek a divorce between man and wife, for what were he the better."—MSS.

which the Gospel requireth, it was not true. And by that
87 which follows, when he asks what remained to be done, namely, that he leave all to follow Christ, He infers in one precept the whole inward and spiritual obedience of God, which under the Gospel is expressly required: to wit, that a man set all the world and himself behind his back, that he may follow Christ.

§ 37. Therefore though this be the obedience which under the Gospel is expressly required, yet when it is said of the precepts of the law, "which whoso shall do shall live by them," Levit. xviii. 5, Ezek. xx. 11, 21, it is not to be granted that everlasting life is necessarily signified, but only a prosperous estate, which *vivere* in the Hebrew, as well as in the Greek and Latin, elegantly signifies. And yet there is good reason why these are counted by our Lord the chief precepts of the law, though as for the immediate intent thereof, they reach no further than the overt act which other laws determine as well as they; because more apt to signify the general extent of that inward and spiritual obedience which, being preached and taught by the fathers, was first to be translated out of their doctrine into the law of Moses; that the prophets—who, being authorized by the law, Deut. xviii. 18—22, were raised by God to prepare the way for our Lord Christ and His Gospel—might have as it were a text in the law, upon which they might ground their sermons of spiritual obedience, which the Gospel of Christ, whose coming they preached, should expressly require.

§ 38. And this is that secret of God's law and of His covenant, which the prophet David declares to be revealed to those that keep covenant with God, and prays that his eyes may be opened to see it in the law, the study whereof enlightens a man to discover it, Psalm xxv. 13, 15; xix. 9, 10; cxix. 18; if we add hereunto the secret of Christ's coming, which this obedience, or at the least, the tender of a covenant which should condition for it, presupposeth. [What is the secret of the law.]

§ 39. As for the division of the precepts of the law into ceremonial, moral, and judicial, it will very fitly fall in with the truth which I insist upon, in case those that advance or maintain that division be content to receive this truth. For it will be very proper [illegible] ceremonial and judicial Of the ceremonial, judicial, and moral law.

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precepts[t] are those that depend upon the express and immediate intent of the law, as it containeth the condition on their part, upon which God on His part covenants to give them the civil happiness of the land of promise; but the moral precepts, such as might be counted civil laws, being observed civilly out of respect to that happiness, and might be counted spiritual laws, as the offices of them might be done out of obedience to God, in respect to His service; which sense, the light of nature, stirred up by that measure of revelation which God was pleased to grant the fathers before, and the prophets, under the law, having prevailed to bring into force before the law, was translated out of unwritten custom into the law of Moses, to give the prophets a ground of their doctrine of the love of God above all and a man's neighbour as himself, so to make way for that spiritual obedience which, under the Gospel, was expressly to be required.

§ 40. But if they refuse to admit this division[u], so as to comply with the sense I pretend, then will it be easy for me to refuse the division, as not contained in the Scripture, but the conceit of divines, that neither do understand the true difference between the law and the Gospel, nor can be content to be shewed it; for neither doth any Scripture of the Old or New Testament express this division to come from the first and immediate, and express intent of the law, nor is there any tradition in the Church of it, which are the two only means that hitherto remain in question, whether matter of faith can be grounded upon both of them, or only upon the one; and to have recourse to any opinion of the Jews, since the separation of them from the Church of God, in a point concerning that difference, must needs be an affront to Christianity.

[t] "My position requires that we refer ceremonial and judicial precepts to the literal sense and first intent of Moses's law, which concerns the Jews as such; but the moral to the inward sense, and utmost intent of it concerning them as Jews according to the spirit, which as Christians we are. So according to my grounds we are rather to distinguish that which is proper to the Jews after the letter from that which is common to the Jews by the spirit."—MSS.

[u] Quin pertendo leges datas per Mosen populo Israælitico sub una classe collocandas esse; *nec nævis carere divisionem vulgarem legum, in morales, cæremoniales, et politicas*, nec referre quod materia differant, nam et leges testamentariæ aliæ sunt a militaribus, hæ a matrimonialibus, matrimoniales ab herilibus.—Ludovici Molinæi Parænesis, cap. vi. p. 103. Londini, 1656.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THAT THE LAW TENDERETH NO OTHER PROMISE BUT THAT OF THE LAND OF CANAAN. HOW THE RESURRECTION IS SIGNIFIED BY THE PROPHETS. EXPRESS TEXTS OF THE APOSTLES. THEIR ARGUMENTS, AND THE ARGUMENTS OF OUR LORD DO SUPPOSE THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF THE SCRIPTURES. THAT THIS SENSE IS TO BE MADE GOOD THROUGHOUT THE SCRIPTURES, WHERESOEVER THE GROUND OF IT TAKES PLACE; CHRISTIANITY WELL GROUNDED SUPPOSING THIS. WHAT PARTS OF SCRIPTURE MAY BE QUESTIONABLE, WHETHER THEY HAVE A MYSTICAL SENSE OR NOT. THE SAYINGS AND DOINGS OF OUR LORD HAVE IT; AS ALSO THOSE PASSAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, WHICH ARE FULFILLED BY THE SAME. THE SENSE OF THE FATHERS.

That the law tendereth no other promise but that of the land of Canaan.

Having shewed, by removing this block, that there is no appearance of inconvenience in admitting this truth, I am now to shew what appearance of necessary consequences from the Scriptures there is to enforce it. Beginning then with the first proposition of the covenant of the law in Marah, Exod. xv. 25, 26, we read, that at "Marah God appointed them a statute and a judgment." The Jews say[x], that there He gave them the precepts of the Sabbath, and honouring parents. Whether so or not, something God propounds them to do; for to shew what He bids them expect, doing it, he infers, "and there He tried him and said, If thou wilt hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and do that which is right in His eyes, and wilt receive His precepts, and do all His statutes, I will bring upon thee none of the griefs that I brought upon Egypt. For I am the Lord thy God that heal thee."

§ 2. It will be hard to say how the law could be established upon any other condition than first it was propounded on, and here is nothing but an earthly promise. Come we to the giving and receiving of the law, Exod. xix. 5, 6; "And now if you will hear My voice and keep My covenant, ye shall be to Me, whose all the earth is, a jewel above all nations of the

[x] In Mara dedit ei Deus capita quædam legis, ut in illis studerent, videlicet capita, quæ agunt de Sabbato, de vacca rufa, et de judiciis.—R. Solom. Jarchi Comment. in loc. p. 517. Gothæ, 1710.

Grotius writes on the De Sabbati otio hoc accipiunt Hebræi, et de parentum honore, idque ob verba illa, 'sicut præcepit tibi Dominus Deus tuus,' quæ bis reperiuntur, Deut. v. commate 12 et 16. Alii etiam judicia tunc aiunt instituta.—Grotii Opp. [illegible], tom. i. p. 32. Londini, 1679.

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earth, a kingdom of priests, an holy people." All nations being at this time polluted by offering sacrifices to devils, and enemies to God, the Israelites, redeemed by God out of Egypt to be free under His government, and to offer sacrifices to Him alone, might well be a kingdom of priests, a holy people, God's jewel above all nations of the earth, without any covenant for the happiness of the world to come. After the giving of the Decalogue and other precepts by the mediation of Moses, Exod. xxiii. 25; "And you shall serve the Lord your God, and He shall bless thy bread and waters: and I will take sickness from amid thee: there shall no woman miscarry, or be barren in thy land: I will make full the number of thy days: I will send My terror before thee," and the rest that follows there to assure them how and by what means He will bring them into the land of promise.

§ 3. Hitherto, in treating, in contracting this covenant, no mention of the world to come, what shall we find at renewing it? Deut. xxix. 1; "These are the words," that is, the terms, "of the contract which Moses struck with the Israelites in the plain of Moab, beside that in Horeb." Then repeating the sum of what they had seen since their coming out of Egypt, as to move them to embrace God's covenant; "Wherefore," saith he, "ye shall observe the terms of this covenant, and do them, that ye may prosper in whatsoever ye do." And so, contesting the whole assembly, that they and their posterity must, by transgressing, come under the curse which it is enacted with, thus expresses the sum of it; "That He may settle thee to Himself for a people, and He be thy God, as He hath said to thee, and as He hath sworn to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, thy fathers:" to whom He had expressly sworn to give the land of promise, and therefore so determined the express sense and intent of being their God.

§ 4. For to expound what it means, for them to have God for their God, and He them for His people, it follows, that if any of them return from the Lord to the gods of the Egyptians, and other nations, they shall incur the curse which the covenant is enacted with, that the land being turned into salt and brimstone, shall not be to be sown, nor spring, nor grass grow, but be like Sodom and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, the Lord overthrew in His wrath. Hereupon he beg

thirtieth chapter thus; "And it shall come to pass, that when all these things are befallen thee, and thou shalt call them to mind, among all nations to which God shall have driven thee, and return to the Lord thy God;" and the rest, whereby God promises that He will be intreated of His people, and turn the said curses from them upon their enemies. Remitting plainly him that will understand what those are to that which went afore, from chap. xxvi. 16, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, which he that will peruse may trust his own senses whether they speak of life everlasting or of the land of promise.

§ 5. And indeed the whole book of Deuteronomy containing nothing else but the repetition and continuation of what was most necessary to introduce and persuade this renewing of the covenant, whether we judge of the premises by the conclusion, or of the conclusion by the premises, we shall find no more than what I have said. Now the whole twenty-sixth of Leviticus, being nothing else but an exhortation and warning to keep the law, propounded before the camp removed from mount Sinai, as you have it xxvi. 46; had any such thing as eternal life been covenanted for, of necessity the arguments there used must have been drawn from thence. But you shall find no more than concerns the land of promise.

§ 6. The effect of this reason is not to argue a negative from Scripture, that is to say, this is not recorded in the Scripture, not in this or that part of the Scripture, therefore not true; but to argue from the common reason of all men, and the visible nature of the business then in hand, that what was not then expressed for a condition of that covenant which is related to have been struck between God and the Israelites, cannot be presumed to have been an express condition of it. For by interpretation, from not only the conversation of the fathers, but the doctrine of the prophets, and the preaching of the Gospel, I grant that it is the principal intent which the law intimateth, though not expresseth.

§ 7. One particular precept of the law I must not omit. It is that of Lev. v. 1—5, which appointeth the same sacrifice to be offered for legal uncleanness as for perjury. Now it is
ed, that legal uncleanness is not a thing for-
ut is contracted by observing the law, as

BOOK I. Tobit's uncleanness, which made him lie out of the house and occasioned his blindness, by burying the dead, Tobit ii. 10, being indeed an outward accident, coming to pass without any inclination of man's will to it, and therefore not imputable. If therefore the same means of expiating that which is not forbidden by the law expiate such a sin as perjury, let any man understand how by this law expiation is made for the guilt of perjury, whereby every Christian believes he becomes liable to everlasting death, when by the same, expiation is made not for sin, but for a legal incapacity of conversing with God's people, or coming to the tabernacle.

[Prayer not commanded by the law.]

§ 8. Another is that of prayer negatively; for who will believe that the spiritual reward of everlasting life is promised by the covenant of the law, which does not so much as command the spiritual service of prayer, as the Jews themselves observe—Maimoni in the beginning of the titles of prayer and blessings—that prayer is commanded only by the precept of the law, Deut. vi. 13; x. 20: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve Him. The Lord thy God shalt thou fear, and Him serve." And those blessings in which so much of their religion consists, only by Deut. viii. 10: "And when thou hast eaten and art full, then shalt thou bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee."

§ 9. Out of these texts their elders, they say, have taken occasion to prescribe the kinds, and measure, and circumstances of their prayers and blessings. And truly, when there is so much in the law, of their festivals and Sabbaths and sacrifices, and so little of the spiritual duties which God is to be served with, and was served with even under the law, it is impossible to give a reason of it, unless we say that as the Gospel was yet to be a secret, so the spiritual service of God, which under it was to be required, was not, under the law, to be covenanted for, that is expressed.

§ 10. And here I am not to forget the sect of the Sadducees, which, though it denied the reward after death, yet notwith- 90
standing was not only tolerated among the Jews, but also in such power, that I have shewed in another place[y], that during

[y] Rel. Assembl., chap. iii. sect. 7. See also Thorndike, de Ratione finiendi Controversias, cap. iii. p. 42. London, 1670.

the time mentioned by the Acts of the Apostles, it had authority in all public matters of the nation under the Romans. For if they that denied the resurrection, expressly renounced the law, by renouncing the express condition of it, it will be impossible to say how they that renounced the law, should manage that power of governing their own people by the law, which was reserved to the nation by the Romans.

§ 11. Indeed when idolatry prevailed, the precepts which punished that sin by death, of necessity were superseded for the time. But when, after the captivity, some denied the life to come, others expected it from the literal and carnal observation of the law, both maintaining themselves under the law and by it, it might be signified by the law, as our Saviour proves the resurrection, Matt. xxii. 23; Mark xii. 18; Luke xx. 27: but had it been covenanted for, impudence would not have had wherewith to maintain the contrary, acknowledging the law. And therefore I agree that when our Lord says, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life," John v. 39, this think is a term of abatement[z], signifying that they expected salvation by the law, which indeed is not to be had but by His Gospel, which the law intimateth and involveth. Ye think ye have it so, as indeed ye have it not.

How the resurrection is signified by the prophets.

§ 12. In the next place consider we awhile the writings of the prophets, that is, all that follows the law in the Old Testament, and we shall find there such intimations of the world to come, such instruction to that conversation by which it is attained, as may shew that it was not covenanted for, though attainable by God's dispensation of that time. That which we read in the prophet, Esay xxvi. 19, "Thy dead shall live, my carcasses shall arise; awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew is the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the giants," is the very picture of that resurrection which Christians believe. But what it signifies there let the consequence of the Scripture witness, which shews it—by the beginning of the chapter—to be part of a song which should

[z] Etiam plus æquo illis tribuitis. Existimatis enim Legis præcepta observantibus promitti vitam æternam, atque ita directe eam vitam illis libris contineri . . . . . Et notæ ducæis, sed cum Pharisæis hic rem esse, qui legem vocabant fontem vitæ, et de vita æterna accipiebant locum Deuteronomii xxxii. 47.—Grotii Comm. in loc., p. 501. Londini, 1679.

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be sung in the land of Judah at that day, that is, at such time as God having afflicted His people according to the prophecies going afore, should restore them again, as he prophesies there and afterwards.

§ 13. The vision of dry bones which the prophet Ezekiel, xxxvii., saw, upon the breathing of God, clothed with flesh and skin, to rise again, manifestly foretells the return of the Jews from captivity, to be a nation again; but so, that it cannot be denied that St. Hilary[a] had reason to call him several times the prophet of the resurrection for it.

§ 14. Nor must we make any other account of Daniel, xii. 1—3, who having prophesied of the miseries that were to befall the Jews, especially under Antiochus Epiphanes, and their deliverances in the end, sets forth the glory and ignominy of those that had stuck to their law till death, or fallen from it after they had their freedom under the Maccabees, by the figure of rising from the dead. For having first said, "At that time thy people shall escape, whosoever is written in the book," which time is that persecution under Epiphanes, when he adds incontinently, "And many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to everlasting reproach and shame. And teachers shall shine as the shine of the sky, and those that make many righteous, as the stars for ever and ever;" I say, this following immediately, it cannot stand with common sense that it should not concern the same times and persons; though we allow it a competent argument, that the prophet which sets forth the deliverance of that people in such terms, understood the resurrection of the dead well enough, and intended, by using the same, to make way for Christianity that professes it.

§ 15. But the words of Job xix. 25, 26, are more questionable; "I know," saith he, "that my Redeemer liveth, and

[a] Perdidit me repertus secundum cor tuum David, et dignus Salomon divinæ sapientiæ munere, et viso Domino Sabaoth Esaias prædicans, et ante conformationem sanctificatus in utero Jeremias eradicandarum et plantandarum gentium prophetes, et mysterii resurrectionis Ezechiel testis, et vir desideriorum Daniel temporum conscius.—De Trinitate, lib. vi. § 20. col. 891. ed. Ben.

Curre per tempora, et intellige qualis visus sit, vel Jesu Nave nominis sui prophetæ, vel Esaiæ etiam cum evangelico testimonio visum prædicanti, vel Ezechieli usque ad conscientiam resurrectionis assumto.—*Ib.*, lib. xii. § 47. col. 1137. ed. Ben.

shall stand upon the earth at last: and after they have pierced this my skin, I shall see God out of my flesh." But if we compare this with what hath been hitherto produced out of the prophets, it will not seem probable that the resurrection, 91 which they so darkly intimated, should be so plainly preached either before the law, when Job lived, or under the law, when the book of Job is said to have been penned. And truly he that persuadeth himself that God would deliver him out of his present affliction, might well say, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." And he that saith, xlii. 5, "By the hearing of the ear, I had heard of Thee, but now doth mine eye see Thee," might say to the same purpose, that he should see God standing at length upon the earth, after that his skin had been pierced with sores.

§ 16. Consider now those passages of the prophets, whereby they declare how they are moved to question God's providence, by seeing the righteous afflicted and the wicked to flourish in this world, Ps. lxxiii. 2—20; Jer. xii. 1—3; Mal. iii. 13—18; beside all the discourses of this point, in Job, Ecclesiastes, and elsewhere. It is plain every Christian can answer this out of the principles of his profession, by saying that God reserves His full account to the day of judgment, in the mean time maintaining sufficient evidence of His providence, by the account which He takes of some sinners in this world. And had this been a part of the old covenant, it had been no less ready for every one to answer with.

§ 17. What saith David? "When I went into the sanctuary of God, then understood I the end of those men: forsooth, Thou settest them in slippery places, and castest them down to ruin. How came they to desolation in a moment? they came to an end by terrors. As when a man awakes out of a dream, Lord, when Thou awakest, Thou shalt scorn the image of them." Is there any thing in all this to determine whether in this world or in the world to come? Though the consequence be good, not in this world, therefore in the world to come. What saith Jeremy? "And thou, O Lord, knowest me, and triest my heart before Thee. Pluck them out as sheep to be slain, and consecrate them to the day of slaughter." What saith Malachi? "They shall be Mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, when I store up My jewels, and I

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will spare them, as a man spareth his son that serveth him. And ye shall again distinguish between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not." All this is true to those that are in covenant with God, as the temporal promises are true, even in this life, and therefore expresses not the world to come, whatsoever may be inferred by the foresaid consequence.

§ 18. And truly Ecclesiastes is so far from expressing the answer that Christianity maketh to this objection, as to give some men occasion to imagine that it alloweth the world to come no more than the lives of worldly men do own it. And all the obscurity of the book of Job will never be resolved, without acknowledging that this truth was then a secret, which the prophets knew, but preached it so sparingly—and with such good husbandry, which the Greek fathers use to call *οἰκονομίαν*[b]—as the hope of proficience by their doctrine, in their hearers did require[c].

§ 19. The same account is to be had of the prophet Habakkuk, ii. 4—14, where he proposeth the difference between the Chaldeans and Israelites in these terms; "Behold, the soul that is exalted is not right in him, but the just shall live by faith:" and concludes; "See, is not this of the Lord of Hosts? And the people shall labour for fire, and the nations be weary for nothing. For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the seas." Which all the prophets will witness to signify the restoring of the people of God, to the destruction of idolatry, and their enemies idolaters.

§ 20. No where is this truth more observable than in the Psalms, xvi. 11; "Thou shalt make known to me the way of life; fulness of joys is before Thee, and pleasures at Thy right hand for evermore." Is not this true in the sense of Hezekiah, Esa. xxxviii. 11, 22? First he saith, "I shall see the Lord no more in the land of the living;" but upon the tender of the prophet, he asks, "What is the sign that I shall go up into the house of the Lord?" Where the presence or right hand of God, and the pleasure of it, is the joy that His

[b] Vid. Suicer. Thesaur. *in voce οἰκονομικῶς.*

[c] "That they were not to open the secret of the Gospel every where, but where they had hopes that the hearers would profit by their preaching."—MSS.

people have to worship Him before the ark of His presence. Ps. xvii. 15; "As for me, I will behold Thy presence in righteousness; when I awake, I shall be satisfied with Thy likeness." The same thing he means, and he awakes, when he comes out of trouble to serve God.

92 § 21. Though I am to grant that I cannot think of any text in all the book of Psalms wherein the world to come is more literally expressed than in these words, Ps. cxxvi. 5, 6, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that now goeth on his way weeping, shall doubtless come again in joy, and bring in his sheaves." Whether at the return from captivity, or in heaven, let the beginning of the Psalms speak; "When the Lord turned again the captivity of His people, then were we like men that dream." But there would be no end if I should go about to produce all those passages of the Psalms wherein the same is to be observed.

Express texts of the Apostles.

§ 22. Let us come now to the New Testament, and produce first the sayings of the Apostles, wherein my position is expressly affirmed, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, vii. 19; "For the law perfected nothing, but the bringing in of a better hope, by which we draw nigh unto God." What is this better hope, but that of the world to come, so much better than the land of promise? and what bringeth it in but the Gospel of Christ, by Whom alone sinners have access to God? x. 19—39.

§ 23. Again, viii. 6; "But now He hath obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much He is the mediator of a better covenant, which is enacted upon better promises." ix. 15; "And therefore is He the mediator of a new covenant, that, death interceding for the redemption of those sins that were under the first covenant, those that are called may receive the promise of eternal life." This more excellent ministry is the priesthood of Christ after the order of Melchisedec. To make way for which the whole Epistle disputes that the levitical priesthood is removed, as the interest of Christianity against the law of Moses, and the question on foot, required.

§ 24. Now Melchisedec was a priest, "not by the law of a carnal precept, but by the power of indissoluble life;" saith he again, Heb. vii. 16. What this carnal precept is, you have ix. 9—14, when he saith, that at present, to wit under the

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§ 25. But I must not forget the occasion of that memorable passage quoted from Heb. ix. 9, from the discourse that went afore, whereby the Apostle declares the whole course and constitution of the service of the temple to be nothing else but a parable of the present time, to wit, of Christianity; as also the legal tabernacle was nothing else but a copy of the heavenly, by the pattern whereof he observes that Moses was commanded to build it, viii. 5, 6; calling it therefore "the worldly sanctuary," ix. 1, because it was a copy, as it were, of this whole world, in the several parts of it, as Philo[d] and Josephus[e] have discoursed at large. The most holy place

[d] Σκηνὴν οὖν ἔργον ἱερώτατον δημιουργεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἧς τὴν κατασκευὴν θεσφάτοις λόγοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μωϋσῆς ἀνεδιδάσκετο, τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι σωμάτων ἀσωμάτους ἰδέας τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῶν, πρὸς ἃς ἔδει, καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων αἰσθητὰ μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθῆναι.

. . . . .

Τὰς δὲ τῶν ὑφασμάτων ὕλας ἀριστίνδην ἐπέκρινεν ἐκ μυρίων ὅσων ἐλόμενος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἰσαρίθμους, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ λόγον ἐχούσας, γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ βύσσος ἐκ γῆς, ἐξ ὕδατος δ' ἡ πορφύρα, ὁ δὲ ὑάκινθος ἀέρι ὁμοιοῦται, φύσει γὰρ μέλας οὗτος· τὸ δὲ κόκκινον πυρί, διοτὶ φοινικοῦν ἑκάτερον. ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἱερὸν κατασκευάζοντας χειροποίητον τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντὸς, τὰς ὁμοίας λαβεῖν οὐσίας, αἷς τὸ ὅλον ἐδημιούργει.—Phil. de Vita Mosis, pp. 665, 667. Paris. 1640.

[e] Εἰ γάρ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατανοήσειε τὴν πῆξιν, καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τὴν στολὴν, τάτε σκεύη οἷς περὶ τὴν γίαν χρώμεθα: . . . . . ἕκαστα των εἰς ἀπομίμησιν καὶ δ

into which the high-priest entered once a-year, by the Apostle's interpretation, answereth to the highest heavens, whereunto our Lord Christ is ascended, whom therefore he calleth the minister of the true tabernacle, which God and not man pitched, viii. 2; and therefore the outward sanctuary, into which the priests went once a-day, was intended to signify the starry heavens, and the court of the tabernacle the world here below, as Philo and Josephus declare, justifying the reason why the Apostle calls it "a worldly tabernacle." CHAP. XIII.

§ 26. This interpretation of the ceremonial law made by the Apostle in this place, by that which it expressly affirms concerning the twofold sense of that part of the Old Testament,
93 induces a consequence to the twofold sense of all the rest; inferring, that if the mystical and allegorical sense of the Old Testament determine in the promises of the world to come, then the literal and historical sense of the same determines in the promises of this life; the allegory, that is to say, the reason of interpreting the Old Testament to that purpose, consisting in nothing else but the correspondence between them.

§ 27. I am not ignorant that some divines[f] have done their

τῶν ὅλων, εἴ τις ἀφθόνως ἐθέλοι καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσει γεγονότα. τήν τε γὰρ σκηνήν, τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὖσαν, νείμας εἰς τρία, καὶ δύο μέρη πᾶσιν ἀνεῖς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὥσπερ βατόν τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἀποσημαίνει· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἐπίβατα. τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν μόνῳ περιέγραψε τῷ Θεῷ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεπίβατον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις.—Antiq. Jud., lib. iii. cap. vii. § 7. p. 115. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

[f] Concedimus enim esse ἀλληγορίας, esse ἀναγωγὰς, esse etiam τροπολογίας in Scripturis: sed negamus interim hos multos esse ac varios Scripturæ sensus. Affirmamus enim unicum esse verum proprium, ac genuinum Scripturæ sensum, ex verbis vere intellectis orientem, quem literalem dicimus: allegorias vero, tropologias et anagogas, non varios sensus, sed varias ex uno sensu collectiones, vel varias unius sensus applicationes seu accommodationes esse contendimus.

Apostolus quidem ad Galatas iv. 24, illam de duabus uxoribus egorice vel typice potius, mentis interpretatur; ait enim disertis verbis ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα &c. at ibi non statuit duplicem esse sensum illius historiæ, alium historicum, alium allegoricum, sed ait tantum posse istam historiam allegorice accommodari ad institutum suum, et ad rem illam illustrandam, quam in manibus habebat. Quamvis revera in verbo, ἀλληγορούμενα, κατάχρησις est, quia historia illa non allegorice, sed typice a Paulo eo in loco accommodatur: aliud autem est typus, aliud allegoria. Est ergo illius Scripturæ unicus tantum sensus, literalis nempe seu grammaticus. Veruntamen et totus integer sensus non est in verbis proprie sumptis, sed pars in typo, pars in re ipsa quæ gesta fuit. In altero horum seorsim et per se considerato, pars tantum sensus continetur: ex utrisque vero simul conjunctis plenus ac perfectus sensus absolvitur. Atque idem de omnibus illis locis sentiendum est, in quibus Scriptura aliquid allegorice interpretatur. Ex quibus intelligimus unicum esse verum ac genuinum Scripturæ sensum, literalem nempe, seu grammaticum, sive ex verbis proprie sumptis, sive ex verbis

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best to create one controversy more to divide the Church, by maintaining that there is but one sense of the Scriptures which the letter intends; the things figured under the Old Testament, and the figures of them there set down, making but one and the same sense, as a man and his picture are called the same man, because without the things signified the signs are nothing, at least in the nature of signs. For my part, I find it a thing as easy as for every fool to tie knots which a wise man cannot loose, to engage in disputes in which men cannot yield to the truth while that engagement continues. But I find no pretence why that sense of the Scriptures which they make one, consisting of the figure and the thing figured, should not be counted two, one immediately, the other principally intended. Because the Gospel was a secret under the law, as St. Paul so many times lays down; so that he which knew the law, many times understood not the utmost intent of it under the Gospel.

§ 28. Seeing then that this way of allegorizing the Old Testament is used by our Lord and His Apostles[g], not only in the ceremonial law but in all that properly belongeth to the Old Testament, I do conclude, not that the Scriptures have two senses, but that the Scriptures of the Old Testament have an obvious sense—that was understood, or might be understood by Jews—and a retired sense, which could not be understood but by those under the Old Testament that belonged to the New, as St. Augustine[h] many times distinguishes. And by thus limiting my position, I avoid a great inconvenience, which Origen[i], and those that go the same way with him, though to several purposes, have incurred.

figurate intellectis, sive ex utrisque oriatur, allegoricas vero expositiones non esse varios sensus sed varias tantum accommodationes et applicationes Scripturæ.—Whitaker. de Scriptura, Controv. i. Quæst. v. cap. ii. p. 346. Genevæ, 1610.

[g] "Suppose it used by both, as that which I seek the reason of, τὸ ὅτι being not to be denied."—MSS.

[h] Illa quippe terrena munera in manifesto promittebantur, et tribuebantur; in occulto autem illis omnibus rebus novum Testamentum figurate prænuntiabatur, et capiebatur intelligentia paucorum, quos eadem gratia prophetico munere dignos fecerat. Dispensabant ergo illi sancti pro congruentia temporis Testamentum Vetus, pertinebant vero ad Testamentum Novum. Nam et quando temporalem felicitatem agebant, æternam veram et præferendam intelligebant, et istam ministrabant in mysteriò, ut illam consequerentur in præmio.—Ep. cxl. ad Honoratum, § 5. tom. ii. col. 423.

Hæc autem lex distributione temporum data est, quæ prius haberet, ut dictum est, promissa terrena, quibus tamen significarentur æterna, quæ visibilibus sacramentis celebrarent multi, intelligerent pauci.—De Civitate Dei, x. 15. tom. vii. col. 251. ed. Ben.

[i] Sextum, quod sic paradisum alle-

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§ 29. He, in his exposition upon St. John[k], notes it for the fashion of the Valentinians and other Gnostics, to draw their strange fantasies from some mystical sense, which they fasten upon the Scriptures, though they be not able to prosecute and make good the same sense throughout the text and thread of that Scripture which they allege for it, as we understand by Irenæus[l], in the latter end of the first chapter of his first book. To avoid this inconvenience, both Origen, and many after him, have sought for a mystical sense of the Scripture many times where it is not to be found, that is to say, where the reason and ground of the difference between the letter and the spirit reaches not. For the ground thereof is the purpose of sending our Lord Christ in due time, and in the mean time the prophets, to prepare the way for the covenant of the Gospel which He came to proclaim. But first the chief of them, Moses, was to treat and strike a covenant between God and His people, whereby they should hold their freedom in the land of promise, upon condition of serving Him, and governing their own civil conversation by such laws as He should give.

§ 30. It will therefore be necessary to grant that those Scriptures which proceed not upon supposition of such a purpose, but of the accomplishment of it, have but one sense, to wit, that which was figured by the Old Testament. But this being excepted, the rest of the Scriptures, which suppose this purpose not yet declared, must, by the same necessity, have this twofold sense, according as the subject of several parts of it shall be capable of, or require both.

gorizet, ut historiæ auferat veritatem; pro arboribus angelos, pro fluminibus virtutes cœlestes intelligens; totamque paradisi continentiam tropologica interpretatione subvertat.—S. Hieron. ad Pammach. Ep. xxxviii. tom. iv. col. 310. ed. Ben.

[k] *Ἡ λεγέτωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ νομίζοντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνίστασθαι τὸν περὶ φύσεως λόγον, πότερον ἐδύναντο . . . . . καὶ μάλιστα ταῦτα προσακτέον τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις, χαίρουσι ταῖς ἀλληγορίαις, καὶ ἀνάγουσι τὴν περὶ τῶν ἰάσεων ἱστορίαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπείας, ἀπολυομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης μαλακίας.—Comm. 1 S. Johan. viii. 43. tom. iv. p. 330. ed. Ben.

[l] *Τοιαῦτα μὲν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος πάντες λέγουσιν, ἐφορμίζειν βιαζόμενοι τὰ καλῶς εἰρημένα, τοῖς κακῶς ἐπινενοημένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν Εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν πειρῶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιεῖσθαι, παρατρέποντες τὰς ἑρμηνείας, καὶ ῥαδιουργοῦντες τὰς ἐξηγήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, ἅτε πολλῶν παραβολῶν καὶ ἀλληγοριῶν εἰρημένων, εἰς πολλὰ ἕλκειν δυναμένων τὸ ἀμφίβολον διὰ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, ἕτεροι δὲ δεινῶς τῷ πλάσματι αὐτῶν καὶ δολίως ἐφαρμόζοντες, αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τοὺς μὴ ἑδραίαν τὴν πίστιν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφυλάσσοντας.—S. Iren. Contr. Hæres., lib. i. cap. iii. § 6. pp. 17, 18. ed. Ben.

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Their arguments, and the arguments of our Lord, do suppose the mystical sense of the Scriptures.

§ 31. Here those that know what an allegory is, must distinguish the vulgar use of it, even in the Scriptures themselves, from that which standeth upon this ground, which is particular to the Scriptures; wherein even men of learning sometimes lay stumbling-blocks before themselves. For as an allegory is nothing but an ornament of language, it is plain that even the literal sense of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and other parts both of the Old and New, is set forth by allegories; the sense whereof, he that should take to be the allegorical sense of the Scriptures, would deceive himself too much.

§ 32. For the allegorical sense which we speak of here is seen as well in things done as said in the Old Testament, as 94
not contained in the sayings there recorded immediately, but by the means of things done under the Old Testament, wherein that which is written is true indeed; but so that the things which come to pass in the outward and temporal estate of God's people are intended to figure that which comes to pass in their spiritual estate under the Gospel, or in their everlasting estate of the world to come. The ground whereof being the purpose of making way for the coming of Christ, and the Gospel which He was to preach, as all Christians against the Jews are bound to maintain; the New Testament being figured by the Old, must needs be the intent and meaning of all that which figured it.

§ 33. This we shall find by the writings of the Apostles, and the arguments which, upon supposition of this truth, they draw against those who, having received Christianity, and upon that account admitting it for a principle, did nevertheless, by acknowledging the obligation of the law, seek their salvation by it. Thus St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 45; "And so is it written, the first Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam a quickening spirit." Meaning, that His being made a quickening spirit, is in correspondence to the Scripture that saith, "Adam became a living soul," Gen. ii. 7; whereby he establisheth this way of allegory which we treat, upon correspondence between corporal and spiritual, from the beginning of the Bible. For upon this ground, that which we read in Genesis of the dominion of Adam upon living creatures, is by the Apostle transferred to the subjection of all things to

Christ, being exalted to the right hand of God, Heb. ii. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 27; Eph. i. 22. Neither doth the Apostle, arguing the duties of wives and husbands, upon that which Christ performed to His Church, Eph. v. 31, 32, stand upon any other ground but this.

[Arguments from the mystical sense by St. Peter,]

§ 34. So when St. Peter argues that Christians are saved by baptism, as Noah by the flood, 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21, he appropriates eternal salvation to the New Testament, by finding it figured in the temporal deliverances of the fathers. Whose faith, manifestly tending to the land of promise, the Apostle by allegory shews the secret of Christianity tending to eternal life in it, Heb. xi. 13—16; for "Abraham and his successors died," saith he, "without receiving the promises, but seeing and saluting them afar off, and confessing themselves strangers and pilgrims in the land whereof they had received the promise. Which they that profess, declare they have a country which they seek. For if they had thought of that which they had forsook, they had time enough to return. But now they desire a better, that is, an heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for He prepared them a city." Can this be understood without the correspondence between their inheritance of this world, and that which was figured by it of the world to come?

[and St Paul.]

§ 35. So when St. Paul expounds those things which befel the children of Abraham and Isaac, by the allegory of the Jews and Christians, Gal. iv. 22—31, Rom. iv. 7—10, plainly he maketh the promise of the life to come proper to the New Testament, upon such terms as I have said. And if this be the reason why and how those things that went before the law shadowed and were to shadow the Gospel, it could not but hold in the covenant of the law and the precepts of it. This appears by the Apostle's exhorting the converted Jews to stick close to the Gospel, from the Psalm xcv. 7, Heb. iii. 12—19, where if the Israelites, who, having seen God's works forty years in the wilderness, tempting and provoking Him, entered not into His rest, but left their carcases in the wilderness, he infers thereupon, Heb. iv. 1—11, that they are to beware, lest "having received a promise of entering into Go[illegible]o should come short by the example of the[illegible] Which all supposes this corre-

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spondence, for the ground of such consequences from the Old Testament.

§ 36. And truly the same is the argument by which St. Paul recalls the Corinthians—which Church evidently consisted as well of Jews as Gentiles—from the misprision of idolatry which they incurred, by eating things sacrificed to idols, 1 Cor. x. 1—11, where having related what befel the people in the wilderness, he concludes; "These things happened to them in a figure, and are written for our instruction, upon whom the ends of the world are come." That is to say, they are written to deter Christians from the like sins by the fear of punishment correspondent to that which they in- 95
curred. And therefore threatening Christians with the loss of eternal life by the example of Jews coming short of the rest of the land of promise, he supposes the correspondence which I argue, which is yet plainer in the words of the Apostle, Heb. x. 28, 29; "He that despised the law of Moses under two or three witnesses, died without mercy. How much worse punishment, do you think, shall he be thought worthy of, that treads under foot the Son of God." For it is manifest that his meaning, or the answer of his question, is a question how much eternal death is worse than that death which they incurred; only that they incurred it *de facto*, which, under the Gospel he saith not shall come to pass, but reserveth hope of mercy.

[The defence of Christianity against Judaism rests on the mystical sense of Scripture.]

§ 37. In fine, whosoever will go about to deny the mystical sense of the Old Testament, must deny all the arguments that the Apostles make against them, who, supposing Christianity, thought the law necessary to salvation nevertheless, as impertinent to the purpose to which they are used: all of them supposing this sense. And therefore I conceive it is necessary to yield Origen this, and whosoever employs Origen's reason, that the mystical sense of the Old Testament is to be made good throughout, so far as it concerns the Old Testament—because I have cautioned afore[m], that the New Testament is begun to be discovered under the Old—and according as the nature and subject of the several parts thereof will either require or endure: which is thus to be understood according to the grounds already laid.

[m] Sect. 27; and chap. v. sect. 33.

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That this sense is to be made good throughout the Scripture, whereso-ever the ground of it takes place.

§ 38. If the Old Testament contain one continued prophecy of our Lord Christ, and of the new covenant which He preached, and the people of God under it a figure of the Church, then must the rulers of God's people—the patriarchs before the law, under the law, the kings, the priests, and prophets—be first figures of Christ, whom all Christians suppose anointed king, priest, and prophet; then must the civil government of God's people by them figure the spiritual conduct of the Church. And inasmuch as particular Christians, who are such not only to the Church but to God, by participating of Christ's anointing are conformable to His example, that which befel them outwardly in the letter under the law, befalls all Christians inwardly in the spirit. This is no more than St. Augustine[n] proposes to us, as the rule for expounding the Psalms, and must take place all over the Old Testament where the reason is the same. This for the histories and prophecies of the Old Testament.

§ 39. As for the precepts of the law, the ceremonial do openly profess an intent of signifying and foretelling the mystery of Christ and Christianity; as for the judicial, they also may be said to be a figure of those precepts of inward and spiritual obedience, which the Gospel declares, as civil righteousness is a rude shadow of inward and spiritual righteousness; and as, in Aristotle[o], a rude draught is said to be

[n] Hic ergo Israel spiritalis ab illo Israele carnali, qui est unius gentis, novitate gratiæ, non nobilitate patriæ, et mente non gente distinguitur: sed altitudo prophetica dum de illo vel ad illum loquitur, latenter transit ad hunc: et cum jam de isto vel ad istum loquatur, adhuc de illo vel ad illum loqui videtur; non intellectum Scripturarum nobis quasi hostiliter invidens, sed exercens medicinaliter nostrum. Unde et illud quod ait, 'et inducam vos in terram vestram;' et paulo post tanquam id ipsum repetens, 'Et habitabitis,' inquit, 'in terra quam dedi patribus vestris,' non carnaliter, sicut carnalis Israel, sed spiritaliter, sicut spiritalis, debemus accipere. Ecclesia quippe sine macula et ruga, ex omnibus gentibus congregata, atque in æternum regnatura cum Christo, ipsa est terra beatorum, terra viventium; [illegible]elligenda est patribus data, [illegible]erta et incommutabili Dei voluntate promissa est; quoniam ipsa promissionis vel prædestinationis firmitate jam data est, quæ danda suo tempore a patribus credita est: sicut de ipsa gratia, quæ sanctis datur, scribens ad Timotheum Apostolus ait, 'Non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum suum propositum et gratiam' &c. Datam dixit gratiam, quando nec erant adhuc quibus daretur; quoniam in dispositione ac prædestinatione Dei jam factum erat, quod suo tempore futurum erat, quod ipse dicit manifestatum. Quamvis hæc possint intelligi et de terra futuri sæculi, quando erit cœlum novum et terra nova, in qua injusti habitare non poterunt. Et ideo recte dicitur piis quod ipsa sit terra eorum, quæ ulla ex parte non erit impiorum: quia et ipsa similiter data est, quando danda firmanda est.—De Doctrin. Christian., lib. iii. cap. xxxiv. tom. iii. col. 61. ed. Ben.

[o] Διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν πρῶτον ὡς ἐν τύπῳ,

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done ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, in a figure: when the outmost lines of a picture give in gross the shape of the person represented, before it be filled up within to make the representation complete. But it is not to be denied that there is a difference between these two reasons and ways of figuring, both derived from the same ground of foretelling and making way for Christ and the Church.

§ 40. As for the instructions, exhortations, praises of God, prayers, and the rest of that nature, which, in consequence to the covenant of the law, and the intimation of the Gospel which it was to contain, are found in it or in the prophets; it were an impertinence to seek two senses in any part of it, all belonging to the Gospel, though accommodated to the dispensation of the law, in that the duties of Christians were to be more sparingly declared even by the prophets than under the New Testament, as I shall have time to shew.

[The Annotations of Grotius.]

§ 41. This reason justifies that course of interpreting the prophets which Grotius[p] holds in his Annotations, assigning the fulfilling of all their prophecies to something that fell out to the ancient people of God, afterwards, by correspondence, mystically to be fulfilled again in our Lord Christ and in His Church; and thereupon brings upon this opinion the displeasure that he undergoes, for expounding Esay liii. first of the prophet Jeremy[q], and then mystically of our Lord Christ

ὑποκείσθω ταῦτα.—Ethic. Nich., lib. v. cap. i. p. 181. Matrit. 1772.

Ἀγαπητὸν οὖν, περὶ τοιούτων καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων λέγοντας παχυλῶς καὶ τύπῳ τἀληθὲς ἐνδείκνυσθαι.—*Ib.*, lib. i. cap. 3. p. 7.

Δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως ὑποτυπῶσαι πρῶτον, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀναγράφειν.—*Ib.*, cap. 7. p. 26.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ προδιωμολογήσθω, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ περὶ τῶν πρακτῶν λόγος, τύπῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ὀφείλει λέγεσθαι.—*Ib.*, lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 63.

[p] Scio me olim, tuendæ hujus differentiæ causa, Esaiæ luculentissimum de Christi cruce oraculum, capite ejus prophetiarum liii. positum, de Jeremia sensu primum obvio, et interpretandum esse putasse, et viros doctos hac in re secutum, interpretatum esse. Neque etiamnum mihi videor, eo facto, vel fidem læsisse, vel ejus asserendæ fundamenta subruisse. Nam neque ad debilitandam asserendi Christianismi rationem facit, necessarium hoc sensuum Veteris Scripturæ discrimen videri, etiam ubi necessarium non est; neque, si Jeremias populum Dei sua morte non redemerit; quod Christum fecisse, hujus oraculi auctoritate, ut asseratur, Christianismi interest—hoc enim nemo negat—idcirco hoc Christus non fecerit, si in utroque impleta sit eadem prophetia. Nam si mortis Jeremiæ fructus fructui subordinatus intelligatur; quid prohibet utrumque, etsi inæstimabilis efficaciæ discrimine concesso, uno eodemque oraculo intelligi?—Thorndik. de Ratione finiendi Controv., cap. iv. p. 59. Londin. 1670.

[q] Quis credidit auditui nostro &c. . . . . .

Est continuus sermo cum iis quæ præcesserunt capite præcedente a commate 7. Vultis scire, inquit, quis ille sit futurus, de quo cœpi agere, qui et meis prophetiis plenam habebit fidem, et ipse de maximis rebus, quas Dei potentia peraget, revelationes accipiet

and His sufferings, in correspondence to what befel that prophet. CHAP. XIII.

96 § 42. But those who are displeased[r] at him for it should consider what he hath said generally to the point upon Matt. i. 22, 23[s], where it appears that the words of the prophet, Esay vii. 14, were first fulfilled in a child born to Esay of the prophetess his wife, if we will allow any consequence of sense in the text. For this reason is the ground upon which the like meaning of the rest will necessarily be found requisite. And truly, if Origen was justly rejected by the ancient Church[t], for not making good the literal and historical sense of that which befel Adam and Eve in Paradise, he that will draw this out into consequence, must necessarily yield those prophecies which belong to our Lord and the New Testament to have been literally fulfilled in the temporal state of the Jews afore; otherwise the history is no less destroyed in the prophecies than in the relation of Paradise. And if all prophets were figures of Christ, it is no strange thing that the prophet Jeremy's sufferings, being the greatest that we find recorded, and from his own people, should figure our Lord's. This for Christ.

§ 43. Now prophecies either promising good or threatening

exactissimas, omnibus circumstantiis additis? dabo vobis geminas ejus notas, unde cognosci possit. Hæ notæ in Jeremiam quidem congruunt prius, sed potius sublimiusque, sæpe et magis κατὰ λέξιν in Christum.—Grot. Comm. in Isai. liii. 1. p. 323. Londini, 1679.

[r] "How ungrateful then, and how unacceptable to all professors of the name of Jesus Christ, must the labours of Grotius needs be, who hath to the uttermost of his power reached out his hand to relieve the poor blind creatures from their rack and torture, by applying, though successlessly, this whole prophecy of Jeremiah, ...

"That the learned annotator, though he profess that Jesus Christ was intended in the letter of this Scripture, yet hath interpreted the whole, not only without the least mention of Jesus Christ, or application of it unto Him, but also hath so opened the several words and expressions of it, as to leave no place nor room for the main doctrine of [illegible] faction here principal [illegible] much the Church of God is beholden to him for his pain and travel herein, the reader may judge."—Owen's Vindiciæ Evangelicæ, chap. xxv. pp. 522, 555, 556. Oxford, 1655.

[s] Infans autem in quem ista convenirent, quantum ex sequentibus colligere est, non videtur fuisse Ezechias, ut existimant Hebræorum multi, ... sed potius est is infans ipsius Esaiæ filius, natus ex ea quæ virgo adhuc editi vaticinii tempore, testibus Uria ac Zacharia adhibitis, Esaiæ nupsit, quæ et ipsa προφῆτις fuisse indicatur. . . . . Illud autem 'Virgo concipiet' quanto excellentiorem habet sensum, si referatur ad eam quæ ita concepit ut virgo post conceptum maneret, quod soli Mariæ evenit? . . . Sicut autem Christo nomina ista apud Esaiam posita eminentissime conveniunt, ita et προφήτιδος nomen quod in eodem oraculo reperitur singulariter convenit Mariæ semper Virgini, quæ inter fœminas fuit εὐλογημένη καὶ κεχαριτωμένη.—Annot., pp. 13, 14. Londini, 1679.

[t] See sect. 51. below.

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punishment, either to God's people or their neighbour nations, the promises of temporal good to God's people are, if the premises be true, promises of temporal good to the Church: threatenings of temporal punishment are predictions, partly of the rejection of God's ancient people, partly of punishment upon the new, not continuing in the covenant, as I shewed[u] out of Psalm xcv. 7; Heb. iii. 7. But those promises translated to spiritual good concern first, certain remains of Israel according to the flesh, intended by God to be added to the Church; then the coming of the Gentiles to the communion of the same: the comminations, as spiritual, signifying the utter destruction of both sorts of enemies, as well Jews as Gentiles, or whatsoever enemies of God's Church, in the world to come.

Christianity well grounded supposing this.

§ 44. Neither is there just cause to think that thereby advantage is given to the Jews against Christianity, by granting that such passages, out of which the New Testament draws the birth and sufferings of our Lord, are reasonably to be understood of His predecessors in God's ancient people. For it is plain, that in despite of the Jews, the works done by our Lord, and His prophecies concerning His dying and rising again, and the destruction of the Jews, and the preaching of the Gospel to all nations, seconded by His Apostles, and that which they did to win credit that they were the witnesses of the same, are the evidence upon which the Gospel obliges.

§ 45. The Scriptures of the Old Testament—which were no evidence to the Gentiles, as much and more concerned in the Gospel than the Jews—were evidence, and so to be, not of themselves, for what need Christ then have done those works? but upon supposition that God intended not to rest in giving the law, but to make it the thread to introduce the Gospel by; which supposition, as it is powerfully enforced by the nature of the law, and the difference between the inward and the outward obedience of God, as it hath been hitherto declared and maintained; so is it also, first introduced, by those works which our Lord declareth to be done for evidence thereof, then made good, by the perpetual correspondence between the Old and New Testament, which any considerable exception interrupts.

[u] Sect. 35. above.

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§ 46. And these reasons so much the more effectual, because this difference of literal and mystical sense was then, and is at this day acknowledged by the Jews themselves, against whom our Lord and His Apostles employ it, in a considerable number of Scriptures, which they themselves interpret of the Messias, though they are not able to make good the consequence of the same sense throughout, because they acknowledge not the reason of it, which concludes the Lord Jesus to be the Messias Whom they expect.

§ 47. If these things be true, neither Origen nor any man else is to be endured, when they argue that a mystical sense of the Scripture is to be enquired and allowed, even where this ground takes no place, for vindicating the honour of God, and that it may appear worthy of His wisdom to declare that which we admit, to be the utmost intent of the Scriptures. For if it be for the honour of God to have brought Christianity into the world for the salvation of mankind, and to have declared Himself by the Scriptures for that purpose, then whatsoever tends to declare this must be concluded
97 worthy of God and His wisdom, whatsoever refers not to it, cannot be presumed agreeable to His wisdom, how much soever it flatter man's ear or fantasy with quaintness of conceit or language.

What parts of the Scripture may be questionable, whether they have a mystical sense or no.

§ 48. Now as I maintain this difference between the literal and mystical sense of the Old Testament to be necessary for the maintenance of Christianity, as well as for understanding the Scriptures, so are there some particular questions arising upon occasion of it, which I can well be content to leave to further dispute. As for example; there is an opinion published which saith[x], that "the abomination of desolation," which our Lord saith was "spoken of by Daniel the prophet," concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, Dan. ix. 24—27, Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14, was fulfilled in the havoc made by Antiochus Epiphanes, which is also plainly called "the abomination of desolation" by the same prophet, Dan. xi. 31; xii. 11.

[x] Quamvis ergo hæc vere, et ad literam in Antiocho suo modo impleta fuerint, tamen per antonomasiam de Antichristo dicta esse creduntur: nam in illo cum majori plenitudine et excessu omnia inveniuntur tanquam in capite ipsius Antiochi et malorum hominum.—Suarez. Defens. Fid. Cathol., lib. v. cap. xxii. § 24. p. 789. Coloniæ, 1614.

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§ 49. Whether this opinion can be made good according to historical truth or not, this is not the place to dispute. Whether or no the difference between the literal and mystical sense of the Scriptures will endure that the same prophecy be fulfilled twice in the literal sense, concerning the temporal state of the Jews, once under Antiochus Epiphanes, and once under Titus, that is it which I am here content to refer to further debate. One thing I affirm, that notwithstanding this difference, it is no inconvenience to say that some prophecies are fulfilled but once, namely, that of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 8—12, that of Daniel ix. 24, that of Malachi iii. 1; iv. 5, 6; because the coming of Christ boundeth the times of the literal and mystical sense, and therefore there is reason why it should be marked out by prophecies of the Old Testament referring to nothing else.

§ 50. Again, I am content to leave to dispute whether the many prophecies of the Old Testament, which are either manifestly alleged or covertly intimated by the Revelation of St. John, must therefore be said to be twice fulfilled, once in the sense of their first authors under the law, and again under the Gospel in St. John's sense to the Church; or that this second complement of them was not intended by the Spirit of God in the old prophets, but that it pleased God to signify to St. John things to befall the Church, by prophetical visions, like those which he had read in the ancient prophets, whereby God signified to them things to befall His ancient people; for of a truth it is the outward rather than the spiritual state of the Church, which is signified to St. John under these images.

§ 51. A third particular must be the first chapter of Genesis; for in that which follows, of Paradise, and what fell out to our first parents there, I will make no question that both senses are to be admitted, the Church having condemned Origen[y] for taking away the historical sense of that

[y] Si quis secundum sanctos patres consonanter nobis pariterque fide non respuit, et anathematizat anima et ore omnes, quos respuit et anathematizat nefandissimos hæreticos cum omnibus impiis eorum conscriptis usque ad unum apicem sancta Dei Ecclesia Catholica et Apostolica hoc est sanctæ et universales quinque synodi, et consonanter omnes probabiles Ecclesiæ patres, id est, Sabellium, Arium, Eunomium. . . . . .

Origenem, Didymum, Evagrium, et compendiose omnes reliquos hæreticos, qui a Catholica Ecclesia reprobati atque abjecti sunt, quorum dogmata

portion of Scripture. But whether the creation of this sensible world is to be taken for a figure of the renewing of mankind into a spiritual world by the Gospel of Christ, according to that ground of the difference between the literal and mystical sense of the Scripture, which hitherto I maintain; this I conceive I may, without prejudice, leave to further debate.

The sayings and doings of our Lord have it.

§ 52. But leaving these things to dispute, I must insist that those things which the evangelists affirm to have been fulfilled by such things as our Lord said or did, or only befel Him in the flesh, have a further meaning, according to which they are mystically accomplished in the spiritual estate of His Christian people. The chief ground hereof I confess is that of St. Matthew viii. 17, where, having related divers of our Lord's miracles, he addeth, that they were done, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet," Esay liii. 4, "He took our infirmities and bare away our sicknesses;" together with the words of our Lord, Luke iv. 17 21, where He telleth them of Nazareth, "This day are the words of the prophet—Esay lxi. 1; 'the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor'—fulfilled in your hearing;" and His answer to John Baptist grounded upon the same passage, Matt. xi. 4—6, "Go and tell John what ye have heard and seen; the blind receive sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have the Gospel preached them."

§ 53. For as the evangelist and our Lord both affirm that
98 these things were prophesied concerning the cures which our Lord did upon their bodies, so can it not be doubted that the cure of our souls is spiritually signified by the same, whether you consider the premises whereby the ground of this correspondence is settled, or the express words of the Apostle, 1 Pet. ii. 24, where that which St. Matthew expoundeth of the cures which our Lord did upon their bodies, is referred to the taking away of sin by the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.

As also those passages of

§ 54. Which if it cannot be denied, I shall make no difficulty to infer that the words of the prophet, Esay vii. 14,

diabolicæ operationis sunt genimina . . .—Conc. Lateran. A.D. 649. can. xviii. Labbei, tom. vii. col. 363. ed. Venet. See also note i. sect. 28. above.

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the Old Testament which are fulfilled by the same.

"Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel;"—which the evangelist referreth to our Lord, Matt. i. 22, and by the premises were fulfilled when they were first said, as in the figure—are still accomplished in the children, which by God's grace are still born of the holy faith of His Church by grace; nor that the words of the prophet, Hosea xi. 1, "Out of Egypt have I called my son"—which being manifestly said of the Israelites coming out of Egypt, the same evangelist, ii. 15, affirmeth to be fulfilled in our Lord's coming back out of Egypt—are still accomplished in those which out of the darkness of this world are brought to God's Church, which is spiritually the land of promise; nor that the words of the prophet Jeremy, xxxi. 15—which the same evangelist expoundeth of the innocents which were slain by Herod at Bethlehem, but the correspondence hitherto established requireth us to understand of the captive Jews at Ramah in that prophet's time—are still fulfilled in all that suffer persecution and death for Christianity.

§ 55. Nor lastly, that the words of the Psalms, xxii. 8, 18, "He trusted in God that He would deliver Him; let Him save Him, seeing He loveth Him:" "They pierced My hands and My feet;" and, "They part My garments among them, and cast lots upon My vesture:" xli. 9; "He which did eat of My bread hath lift up the heel against Me:" lxix. 9—21; "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten Me up;" and, "They gave Me gall to eat, and in My thirst they gave Me vinegar to drink:" viii. 2; "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise:" cix. 8; "His office let another take:" xvi. 10; "Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell, nor suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption"—which the New Testament will have to be fulfilled in those things that befel our Lord Christ in the flesh, in His crucifying, Matt. xxvii. 28, 35, 43, Mark xv. 22—24, John xix. 17—29; in Judas betraying Him, John xiii. 18; in His purging the temple, John ii. 17; in the children that praised Him, Matt. xxi. 16; in Matthias chosen in Judas's stead, Acts i. 20; in the resurrection of Christ, Acts ii. 31, xiii. 35; but the correspondence premised and the reason of it, require us first to understand of those things which befel David, and God's ancient people—are still spiritually verified and accomplished in those things

which befall the children of God and His Church under the state of grace.

§ 56. Neither shall I make any question that the correspondence between the law and the Gospel, which we have settled, being supposed, it will not follow nevertheless, that all the Old Testament ought, by virtue thereof, to be so fulfilled in the life of our Lord Christ; but that the Spirit of God in the evangelists sheweth that the Spirit in the prophets so directed their words, that they were intended to be far more properly fulfilled in our Lord Christ, than in those whom they were spoken of in the literal sense. For we do not find that the text—that is to say, that which went before, and that which follows after, those words which the Gospels say were fulfilled in our Lord Christ—is answered by any thing which we read to have befallen Him in the flesh.

[The correspondence between the law and the Gospel.]

§ 57. And the general correspondence between Israel according to the flesh in the Old Testament, and Israel according to the spirit in the New, being sufficient to justify our Lord to be the Christ Whom they expected, and by consequence, that twofold sense of the Old Testament which here we maintain; there is no cause why they should be said to be impertinently alleged, though by ordinary reason supposing this correspondence, that could not be proved from those texts, which the Gospels say that they signify. Indeed such of them as are used by our Lord and His Apostles to prove Him to be the Christ, must be said, and well may be maintained, to do it, by the perpetual correspondence of God's earthly promises—made good to His carnal people through
99 the means of their kings, priests, and prophets—with the promises of the world to come, made good by the means of our Lord Christ to the Church.

§ 58. There is yet another kind of our Lord Christ's sayings, and of things that befel Him in the flesh, in which there appears at the first view that difference of literal and mystical sense which hath been settled, between the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The parable of the prodigal child, for example, seems not only to contain a plain song of God's earnest desire to be reconciled with penitent sinners, but also a descant of the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles figured by it. In like manner, the parable of him

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that fell among thieves as he went down to Jericho, Luke x. 30—37, seemeth not only to instruct who is the neighbour that we are to love as ourselves, but also to figure the fall of man, and the sending of our Lord for the restoring of him, intimated as the ground of it.

§ 59. So the acclamations of them that went afore, and them that came after, our Lord, at His entrance into Jerusalem, Matt. xxi. 9, agreeing in the same note of "Hosannah to the Son of David," I cannot tell whether any Christian could be so morose as to doubt but that it fell out on purpose to signify the agreement of the Old and New Testament concentering in our Lord Christ. But as it cannot be reasonably denied that these parables and the like are mystical significations of the purpose of God in sending Christ, or the event of it, in the rejection of the Jews and calling of the Gentiles; so is all this nothing to the two senses of the Old Testament in which it is twice fulfilled, once according to the letter, and again, according to the spirit.

The sense of the fathers.

§ 60. I have thus far enlarged this point concerning the correspondence and difference between the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, between the ancient and new people of God, to shew how I conceive the scruples are to be resolved, which may be made against an assumption of more efficacy and consequence than any other, wheresoever any point of Christianity is to be shewed from the Old Testament. Yet so much more protection I owe the truth as to shew further how well it agreeth with the sense of the Catholic Church, by which I had begun[z] to shew that we are to examine all matters of faith.

§ 61. Indeed I must caution this first, that I do not pretend as if this point were any part of the rule of faith, which is the substance of Christianity to be believed, but of all points concerning the knowledge of the Scriptures, which is the skill of Christian divines, I hold it of most consequence. And that therefore, though I am not obliged to affirm that it is expressly taught by all the primitive doctors of the Church—as, all maintaining the mystical sense, it may be maintained that by consequence they do all unanimously deliver it, and Origen[a]

[z] Chap. vi. sect. 1.

[a] Tum demum quod per Spiritum Dei Scripturæ conscriptæ sint, et sensum habent, non eum solum qui in

in præf. de Principiis so accounts it—so will it be necessary to shew how well it standeth with the sense of them, that it may appear that there is no consent of the whole Church against it.

§ 62. It shall be therefore sufficient to name St. Hierome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine; the first[b] affirming that he reads nothing of the kingdom of heaven in all the Old Testament, *Epist.* cxxix.: *Mihi in Evangelio promittuntur regna cœlorum, quæ Instrumentum vetus omnino non nominat.* "To me the kingdom of heaven is promised by the Gospel, which the Old Testament nameth not at all." The second in his homilies *de Lazaro*[c], and divers other places, raising his exhortations drawn from examples of the saints in the Old Testament upon this ground, that if they did so and so when the resurrection was not preached, it behoveth us under the Gospel to do much more. The last, beside other places—whereof some you may find quoted in my book of the Service of God at the Assemblies of the Church—in the book *de Gestis Pelagii*, relating it for one of the articles which Pelagius renounced at that synod, not only that the saints under the law obtained salvation by it, but even that the salvation of the world to come was preached under the law.

§ 63. The article charged upon Pelagius you shall find there to be this, cap. v.[d]: *Regnum cœlorum etiam in Veteri Testamento promissum.* "That the kingdom of heaven was promised also in the Old Testament." To which Pelagius answering, that this may be proved by the Scriptures, was judged by the council not to depart from the faith of the

manifesto est, sed et alium quemdam latentem quamplurimos. Formæ enim sunt hæc quæ descripta sunt Sacramentorum quorundam et divinarum rerum imagines. De quo totius Ecclesiæ una sententia est, esse quidem omnem legem spiritalem: non tamen ea quæ spirat lex, esse omnibus nata, nisi his solis quibus gratia Spiritus Sancti in verbo sapientiæ ac scientiæ condonatur.—Origen. Opp., tom. i. pp. 48, 49. ed. Ben.

[b] Cited before in Rel. Assembl., chap. ii. sect. 8.

[c] Τὸ καὶ μὴ πρὸς Λάζαρον ἕτερον ἔχειν ἰδεῖν, τὸ μηδὲν περὶ ἀναστάσεως δύνασθαι φιλοσοφεῖν'. . . . . τίνα οὖν ἔξομεν ἀπολογίαν, εἰ τούτου πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ μετὰ τοσαύτης φέροντος ἀνδρείας, ἡμεῖς μηδὲ τὰ ἡμίσυ τούτων οἴσομεν;—Hom. i. tom. v. p. 234. ed. Savil.

[d] Cum ergo et hanc Pelagii responsionem judices approbassent, recitatum est aliud, quod in suo libello scripsit, regnum cœlorum etiam in Veteri Testamento promissum. Ad quod Pelagius: Hoc et per Scripturas probari possibile est; hæretici autem in injuriam Veteris Testamenti hoc negant. Ego vero Scripturarum auctoritatem secutus dixi, quoniam in propheta Daniele scriptum est, 'Et accipient Sancti regnum Altissimi.' Qua ejus accepta responsione synodus dixit, Neque hoc alienum est a fide ecclesiastica.—Tom. x. col. 198. ed. Ben.

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Church. Which notwithstanding, when St. Augustine considers[e] that the Old Testament in vulgar language signifies the books of the Old Testament in which the kingdom of heaven is promised, as the Gospel is foretold; but in the Scriptures, the old covenant in which it is not promised; he says as much as I have done. Therefore he saith further; *In illo vero Testamento quod proprie Vetus dicitur, et datum est in monte Sina, non invenitur promitti apertissime nisi terrena felicitas.* "But in that which is called the Old Testament, and was given in mount Sinai, none but earthly felicity is found to be very openly promised." Whereupon he proceedeth to observe[f], that the land of Canaan is called the land of promise, in which the promises of the Old Testament, figuring the spiritual promises belonging to the New, are tendered by the law. And reason he had to insist upon this, because of another article charged upon Pelagius, of kin to this, that men were saved under the law as under the Gospel; as you may see there, cap. xi.[g] Which might well be understood to mean without the grace of Christ.

§ 64. But having cleared the ground of the difference between the literal and allegorical sense of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, I hold it utterly unnecessary, if not altogether impertinent, to tender further proof of this position from the fathers, than the constant agreement of them in maintaining that difference, being, when it is rightly understood, the necessary and immediate consequence of it. Indeed it cannot be maintained that they did understand expressly the true ground of this difference, which, had they done, they would not have been found to use it impertinently and unseasonably,

[e] Num quidnam ergo fratres nostros, ut etiam hoc inter cætera objicerent, sine causa verba ista moverunt? Non utque: sed Veteris Testamenti nomen modis duobus dici solet, uno modo secundum Divinarum Scripturarum auctoritatem, alio secundum loquendi vulgatissimam consuetudinem. . . . . Sed quoniam, ut dixi, etiam sic solemus loqui, ut Scripturas omnes legis et prophetarum, quæ ante incarnationem Domini ministratæ, auctoritate canonica continentur, nomine Testamenti Veteris nuncupemus; quis ecclesiasticis literis vel mediocriter eruditus ignorat, ita Scripturis illis promitti potuisse regnum cœlorum, sicut etiam illud Testamentum Novum, ad quod pertinet regnum cœlorum.—*Ib.*

[f] Unde illa terra, quo est populus introductus, et per eremum ductus, terra promissionis vocatur, in qua pax et regnum, et ab inimicis victoriarum reportatio, et abundantia filiorum ac fructuum terrenorum, et si qua hujusmodi, hæc sunt promissa Veteris Testamenti, quibus etsi figurantur ad Novum Testamentum pertinentia spiritualia, tamen qui propter illa terrena suscipit legem Dei, ipse est hæres Veteris Testamenti.—*Ib.*, col. 199.

[g] Quod lex sic mittat ad regnum, quemadmodum et Evangelium—*Ib.*, col. 205. ed. Ben.

as all lovers of truth must avow that many times they do. Notwithstanding, inasmuch as they agree in maintaining and using it, from which use the ground of it, which is this position, is to be inferred, it shall be enough that all of them agree in delivering that by consequence, which the principal of them, at least in expounding the Scriptures, do expressly affirm. For nothing obliges me to maintain that this is a point necessary to the salvation of all Christians to be believed; and by consequence that it hath been every where taught, and no where contradicted. It is sufficient that I can and do hold it more generally necessary to the right understanding of the Scriptures, than any other point of skill in the Scriptures.

§ 65. Now if any man object that this is the doctrine of the Socinians, I answer, first, that they also hold that nothing is necessary to salvation to be believed, but that which is clear to all men in the Scriptures: and that this position hath a necessary influence into their whole heresy, which is grounded upon the reasonable presumption of it. On the contrary, the difference between the law and the Gospel is a principle, from which I hope to draw good consequences, in maintenance of the faith of the Church against the Socinians; who, if they did always see the consequence of their own positions, would not deny the tradition of the Church, as I observed afore[h]; if they do not, I am not to waive the doctrine of the fathers, because the Socinians acknowledge it. But lastly, I demand whether Socinus provide for the salvation of the fathers or not. If so, why is his opinion blamed? If not, why is mine opinion, that do, taken for his?

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE LEVIATHAN'S OPINION, THAT CHRIST CAME TO RESTORE THAT KINGDOM OF GOD WHICH THE JEWS CAST OFF WHEN THEY REJECTED SAMUEL. IT OVERTHROWETH THE FOUNDATION OF CHRISTIANITY. THE TRUE GOVERNMENT OF GOD'S ANCIENT PEOPLE. THE NAME OF THE CHURCH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT CANNOT SIGNIFY THE SYNAGOGUE. NOR ANY CHRISTIAN STATE.

The Leviathan's opinion,

THIS position being settled, in the next place I will proceed upon it to argue the vanity of that conceit of the Levia-

[h] Chap. ii. sect. 6.

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that our Lord Christ came to restore that kingdom of God which the Jews cast off, when they rejected Samuel.

than, p. 263[l], that the intent of Christ's coming was to regain unto God, by a new covenant, that kingdom, which, being His by the old covenant, had been ravished from Him by the rebellion of the Israelites in the election of Saul. For supposing most truly that God became their king by the covenant of the law, and that under Him Moses had the sovereign power to all purposes, p. 250—252[k], he inferreth further, that after Moses, it was by God vested in the high-priests, Aaron's successors, though he for his time was subject to Moses: and this, p. 217[l], from that text of Exodus xix.

[l] "If then Christ, whilst He was upon earth, had no kingdom in this world, to what end was His first coming? It was to restore unto God, by a new covenant, the kingdom which being His by the old covenant, had been cut off by the rebellion of the Israelites in the election of Saul. Which to do He was to preach unto them that He was the Messiah, that is, the king promised to them by the prophets, and to offer Himself in sacrifice for the sins of them that should by faith submit themselves thereto; and in case the nation generally should refuse Him, to call to His obedience such as should believe in Him amongst the Gentiles."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 41. London, 1651.

[k] "The same covenant was renewed with Isaac, and afterwards with Jacob, but afterwards no more, till the Israelites were freed from the Egyptians, and arrived at the foot of mount Sinai: and then it was renewed by Moses—as I have said before, chap. 35—in such manner, as they became from that time forward the peculiar kingdom of God, Whose lieutenant was Moses, for his own time: and his heirs after him, to be to God a sacerdotal kingdom for ever.

"By this constitution a kingdom is acquired to God. But seeing Moses had no authority to govern the Israelites, as a successor to the right of Abraham..... His authority therefore, as the authority of all other princes, must be grounded on the consent of the people, and their promise to obey him. And so it was, for 'the people—Exod. xx. 18.—when they saw the thunderings and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking, removed and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear, but let not God speak with us, lest we die.' Here was their promise of obedience; and by this it was they obliged themselves to obey whatsoever he should deliver unto them for the commandment of God.

"And notwithstanding the covenant constituteth a sacerdotal kingdom, that is to say, a kingdom hereditary to Aaron, yet that is to be understood of the succession after Moses should be dead. For whosoever ordereth and establisheth the policy, as first founder of a commonwealth—be it monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy—must needs have sovereign power over the people all the while he is doing of it. And that Moses had that power all his own time is evidently affirmed in the Scripture..... Therefore neither Aaron, nor the people, nor any aristocracy of the chief princes of the people, but Moses alone, had, next under God, the sovereignty over the Israelites: and that not only in causes of civil policy, but also of religion. For Moses only spake with God, and therefore only could tell the people what it was that God required at their hands."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 40. London, 1651.

[l] "This covenant, at the foot of mount Sinai, was renewed by Moses—Exod. xix. 5.—where the Lord commandeth Moses to speak to the people in this manner, 'If you will obey My voice indeed,' &c..... And this meaning of the place is confirmed by the reason God rendereth of it, which followeth immediately, in that He addeth, 'For all the earth is Mine,' as if He should say, 'All the nations of the world are Mine; but it is not so that you are Mine, but in a special manner, for they are all Mine, by reason of My power; but you shall be Mine, by your own consent and covenant;' which is an addition to His ordinary title, to all

5, 6, where God promiseth them, that upon undertaking His covenant, they should be a sacerdotal kingdom, which in the original is "a kingdom of priests," in 1 Pet. ii. 9.—where he challengeth the effect of the promise to the Church of Christ—"a royal priesthood," in St. John, Rev. i. 6, "kings and priests;" but chiefly, p. 253[m], from that text of Numbers xxvii. 21, where it is ordered that Joshua stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him before the Lord. "At his word they shall go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he and all the children of Israel with him."

§ 2. For, saith he, p. 218[n], unless we understand them to be a kingdom of priests, because the high-priests succeeded one another in the kingdom, it accordeth not with St. Peter, nor with the exercise of the high-priesthood, the high-priest only being to declare the will of God to them by entering into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*. Though after the death of Joshua and Eleazar, "when a generation was risen that knew not the Lord," Judges ii. 10, it came to pass—as it is said divers times in that book—that "there was no king in Israel;" the high-priests not being obeyed according to law, and the power of the judges depending upon the voluntary submission of the people to the graces, and the success, God gave then for their deliverance; till, rebelling against God's appointment, they desired a king, as God expressly construes it, 1 Sam. viii. 7, 8. p. 253, 254[o]. For thenceforth, God having

nations."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 35. London, 1651.

[m] "Aaron being dead, and after him also Moses, the kingdom, as being a sacerdotal kingdom, descended by virtue of the covenant to Aaron's son, Eleazar the high-priest. And God declared him next under Himself for sovereign, at the same time that He appointed Joshua for the general of their army. For thus God saith expressly, Num. xxvii. 21, concerning Joshua, 'He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him before the Lord,' &c. Therefore the supreme power of making war and peace was in the priest: the supreme power of judicature belonged also to the high-priest, for the book of the law was in their keeping, and the priests and levites only were the subordinate judges in causes civil, as appears in Deut. xvii. 8—10."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 40. London, 1651.

[n] "The English translation before mentioned, following that of Geneva, has 'a kingdom of priests;' which is either meant of the succession of one high-priest after another, or else it accordeth not with St. Peter, nor with the exercise of the high-priesthood. For there was never any but the high-priest only that was to inform the people of God's will, nor any convocation of priests ever allowed to enter into the Sanctum Sanctorum."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 35. London, 1651.

[o] "After the death of Joshua, till the time of Saul, the time between is noted frequently in the book of Judges 'that there was in those days no king in Israel:' and sometimes with this addition, 'that every man did that which was right in his own eyes.' By which is to be understood that where it is said, 'there was no king,' is meant

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given way to them, when God was to be consulted, the high-priest put on the holy vestments, and enquired of the Lord as the king commanded, according to the examples which he allegeth, p. 228[p].

§ 3. This kingdom of God, saith he, so cast off by the choice of Saul, is that which our Lord Christ, according to the promise of God by the prophets, came to restore: and the Gospel nothing else but the good news that God would give them that should believe our Lord Jesus to be the Christ, and submit to God's government by Him; immortal life, in that kingdom which Christ, after the general judgment, should restore upon earth, p. 219, 240, 241[q]; and so Christ's king-

there was no sovereign power in Israel. And so it was, if we consider the act and exercise of such power. For after the death of Joshua and Eleazar 'there arose another generation that knew not the Lord,' &c. . . . . .

"To the judges succeeded kings: and whereas before, all authority, both in religion and policy, was in the high-priest, so now it was all in the king. For the sovereignty over the people, which was before, not only by virtue of the divine power, but also by a particular pact of the Israelites, in God, and next under Him in the high-priest, as His vicegerent on earth, was cast off by the people, with the consent of God Himself. For when they said to Samuel—1 Sam. viii. 5.—'Make us a king to judge us, like all the nations,' they signified that they would no more be governed by the commands that should be laid upon them by the priest in the name of God, but by one that should command them in the same manner that all other nations were commanded; and consequently, in deposing the high-priest of royal authority, they deposed that peculiar government of God. And yet God consented to it, saying to Samuel—verse 7.—'Hearken unto the voice of the people,' &c. . . . . Having therefore rejected God, in whose right the priests governed, there was no authority left to the priests but as the king was pleased to allow them."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 40. London, 1651.

[p] "Of prophets, that were so by a perpetual calling in the Old Testament, some were supreme and some subordinate. Supreme were first Moses, and after him the high-priests, every one for his time, as long as the priesthood was royal: and after the people of the Jews had rejected God, that He should no more reign over them, those kings which submitted themselves to God's government were also His chief prophets, and the high-priest's office became ministerial. And when God was to be consulted, they put on the holy vestments, and enquired of the Lord, as the king commanded them, and were deprived of their office when the king thought fit."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 36. London, 1651.

[q] "In short, the kingdom of God is a civil kingdom; which consisted, first in the obligation of the people of Israel to those laws which Moses should bring unto them from mount Sinai, and which afterwards the high-priest for the time being should deliver to them from before the cherubins in the Sanctum Sanctorum; and which kingdom having been cast off in the election of Saul, the prophets foretold should be restored by Christ; and the restoration whereof we daily pray for, when we say in the Lord's Prayer 'Thy kingdom come.'"—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 35.

"By the kingdom of heaven is meant the kingdom of the King that dwelleth in heaven; and His kingdom was the people of Israel, whom He ruled by the prophets His lieutenants, first Moses, and after him Eleazar, and the sovereign priests, till in the days of Samuel they rebelled, and would have a mortal man for their king, after the manner of other nations; and when our Saviour Christ, by the preaching of His ministers, shall have persuaded the Jews to return, and called the Gentiles to His obedience, then

dom is said not to be of this world, John xviii. 36, because it comes not till after the general judgment, that this world is past, p. 262, 263[r].

It overthroweth the foundation of Christianity.

§ 4. This monstrous conceit is reprovable upon the same grounds as Christianity is receivable upon, from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, upon which the difference between the law and the Gospel is stated, and the Old Testament admitted for a figure, representation and introduction to the New; so that the law being admitted to proceed from God, the Gospel is inferred, so soon as the true meaning and purpose of God, in providing it for the time as an introduction to the Gospel, is understood. If the maintenance of Christianity require that the ancient people of God, their kings, their priests, and their prophets be taken for figures of our Lord Christ, and of His Church and Christian people —as the covenant of the law, promising civil and temporal
102 happiness, is a figure of the new covenant of grace, promising forgiveness of sin and everlasting happiness in being freed from it and the punishment thereof, and perfectly subject to God by perfectly knowing God—then is the kingdom of Christ, though not of this world, yet in this world, as taking place in them who, living in this world, nevertheless acknowledge the inward and spiritual obedience of their souls to be

shall there be a new kingdom of heaven, because our King shall then be God, whose throne is heaven; without any necessity evident in the Scripture, that man shall ascend to his happiness any higher than God's footstool, the earth.

"Therefore where Job saith, 'Man riseth not till the heavens be no more,' it is all one as if he had said, The immortal life—and soul and life in the Scripture do usually signify the same thing—beginneth not in man till the resurrection, and day of judgment; and hath for cause not his specifical nature, and generation, but the promise. For St. Peter says not, 'we look for new heavens, and a new earth,' from nature, but 'from promise.'"—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 38. London, 1651.

[r] "Forasmuch, therefore, as he that redeemeth hath no title to the thing redeemed, before the redemption and ransom paid, and this ransom was the death of the Redeemer, it is manifest that our Saviour—as man—
king of those that He redeem
He suffered death; that is, during that time He conversed bodily on the earth. I say He was not then king in present, by virtue of the pact which the faithful make with Him in baptism. Nevertheless, by the renewing of their pact with God in baptism, they were obliged to obey Him for king—under His Father—whensoever He should be pleased to take the kingdom upon Him. According whereunto, our Saviour Himself expressly saith, John xviii. 36, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Now seeing the Scripture maketh mention but of two worlds, this that is now, and shall remain to the day of judgment—which is therefore also called the last day—and that which shall be after the day of judgment, when there shall be a new heaven, and a new earth, the kingdom of Christ is not to begin till the general resurrection."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 41. London, 1651. The passage in p.
d before in this chap., sect. i.

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due to Him Who, having ransomed them from the bondage of sin, and maintaining them here against it, will one day make them reign with Him in the world to come; which all Christians, until the Leviathan, always took to be Christ's kingdom.

[Of the Chiliasts.]

§ 5. For though there be those[s] that believe that Christ is to come and reign again upon earth for a thousand years after the world's end, and would astonish us into an expectation to see it come to pass within these very few years—whose opinion, as I am far enough from allowing, so I cannot think this the place to say any thing to it—yet is it not their intent to say that this reign of Christ upon earth, is either His kingdom of grace, which is begun here, by the obedience which we yield to His Gospel; or His kingdom of glory, which is consummate in the world to come, by the accomplishment of that subjection and our happiness in it. For after the thousand years aforesaid are past, then do they expect the general judgment which all Christians believe, not afore the reign of Christ upon earth, and the kingdom which He shall resign to the Father, 1 Cor. xv. 24—28.

§ 6. It had been worth this philosopher's wit to tell us what kind of immortality we are to expect in a civil government under Christ. When our vile bodies are made "like His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able to subdue all things to Himself," Phil. ii. 21; when we are "neither to marry nor to be given in marriage, but shall be like the Angels of God in heaven," Matt. xxii. 30; and when we shall have been "caught up in the clouds to meet our Lord in the air," 1 Thess. iv. 17, what shall bring us down to live upon earth again? But to leave this singularity to the father of it, I must needs stand astonished to see an imagination of such consequence to all Christianity advanced upon imaginary grounds.

§ 7. For my part truly, I fully believe Josephus[t], that the

[s] See chap. xxiii. sect. 30.

[t] Καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιδαψιλευόμενοι ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν φιλοτιμίᾳ κατῴκησαν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετ' ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς προεστηκέσαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἄχρις οὗ τοὺς Ἀσαμωναίου συνέβη βασιλεύειν ἐκγόνους, πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο ἀπὸ Σαούλου πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι καὶ Δαυίδου. ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντακόσια τριάκοντα δύο, μῆνας ἕξ, ἡμέρας δέκα. πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς διεῖπον, οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κριταὶ καὶ μόναρχοι·—Antiq. Jud., lib. xi. cap. iv. p. 480. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

CHAP. XIV.

The true government of God's ancient people.

Jews, after the captivity, were governed by the high-priests in chief, so far as by sufferance of their sovereigns—the Persians, and after them the Macedonians—they were governed by themselves. For this must be the reason why the sons of Mattathias, having been the means to free them from the monstrous tyrannies of Antiochus Epiphanes, and thereupon by degrees seizing into their hands the sovereign power, found it necessary to make themselves high-priests, which by lineal succession from Aaron they were not entitled to be. After which time, being reduced under the dominion of the Romans, that power which they allowed them over themselves was in the high-priest, so often as they allowed them not a king of their own, as will easily appear by the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, compared with Josephus.

§ 8. For first indeed, after the return from captivity, it seems to me, that there was a governor over them for the king of Persia: for Zerubbabel is styled "governor of Judah," Hag. i. 1. And Nehemiah, who we know had his commission from the king of Persia, qualifieth himself by the same style, making mention also of others beside, Neh. v. 14, 15; and it is to be observed that the word or title פחה is elsewhere reckoned among the styles of the lieutenants, or governors of the Chaldean and Persian empires, Dan. iii. 2, 3—27; vi. 8; Ezra v. 3; vi. 7; viii. 36; Nehem. viii. 9; Esther viii. 9; ix. 3. When therefore, they obtained of their sovereigns to be governed by their own nation, shall we imagine that this power was trusted with the high-priests, because God had made them sovereigns by the law; or because, after the king, whom in that estate they could not have, the high-priest was regularly the second person in the kingdom?

§ 9. For what a ridiculous thing it is to imagine, that, because Joshua and the people were to go in and out at the word of the Lord by Eleazar the high-priest, therefore the high-priest was always sovereign? Was it any more for Joshua to be ruled by Eleazar the high-priest, and his answer by Urim and Thummim, not by going into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, than for Saul or David to be directed by the answer of
103 the high-priest in those days; when, as our author saith, the right of the high-priest was, by God's permission, though against law, se hands?

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§ 10. As for the judges, they that read, "In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did what was right in his own eyes," with their eyes in their head, do thereby understand that though the stories of the idol in Dan, and of Gibeah, are last in the book of Judges, yet they are first in order of time, before any judge had succeeded Joshua, the judges having the same power for which Moses is called "king in Israel," Deut. xxxiii. 5. For God being their king by the covenant of the law, while He raised up no judge to be His vicegerent in Moses's stead, He governed them by the elders of the people, to whom therefore Clemens[u] and Eusebius and other chronologers impute the time between Joshua and Judges.

§ 11. When this government proved not of force to rule so stiff-necked a people, and that God had raised up a judge, to refuse him was to refuse God, Who by manifest operations of His Spirit in him, had declared him His vicegerent. Which is the plain reason why God pronounces that in refusing Samuel, they had refused Him, and not Samuel. For it is manifest that they might by the law demand a king, Deut. xvii. 14, 15; so ridiculous a thing it is to imagine that by demanding a king as other nations had, they rebelled against God, who had made the high-priest their sovereign: for God expresseth their rebellion to consist in refusing Samuel, whom He had declared His vicegerent, who being once declared, they were no more free to demand a king, by the law, till his death.

[Meaning of "royal priesthood."]

§ 12. Neither doth "a royal priesthood," or "a kingdom of priests" signify that the high-priests were their kings; but that they who came out of bondage should now make a kingdom themselves, to be governed by their own nation and laws, which laws should consist much in offering sacrifices to God: and those sacrifices, though for the future, special persons were to be appointed to offer them, yet in regard they were offered in the name and on the behalf of the people whose offerings they were, the body thereof are justly called priests; as all Christians, to whom St. Peter challengeth the effect of this promise, are styled by him "a royal priesthood," and by St. John, "kings and priests;" though nothing hinder the

[u] Stromat., lib. i. cap. xxi. pp. 384, 385. ed. Potter. Venet. 1757.

to have their priests, whose functions cannot be intermeddled with by those who are no priests, without sacrilege. In fine, the effect of these words is that of the prophet Esay, lxi. 5, 6, that when the people shall be restored, the Gentiles shall be their labourers and vine-dressers, while they, in the mean time, attend upon keeping holy-day, by offering sacrifices, and feasting upon the sacrifices which they had offered.

The name of the Church in the New Testament cannot signify the synagogue,

§ 13. It will now be easy to maintain, that the Church, when our Lord saith "tell it the Church," is not, nor can be understood but of the congregation of Christians, though at that time, in common speech, it signified no more than the congregation of God's people. For supposing that our Lord Christ came to contract a new covenant with those that received Him, whereby they became His people on other terms and to other purpose than the people whom He had before; that He conditioned with them to leave all things and take up His cross; that He appointeth those that embrace this condition to be baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; I say this being supposed, they that before were the congregation of God's people, are no more the congregation of His people upon the same terms, nor by the same right or title, though the same persons; the one being His people under a covenant for the land of promise, and the condition of living by Moses's laws; the other under the promise of life everlasting—which the former were not excluded from, though not expressly included in it—upon condition of receiving the Christian faith and continuing in it.

§ 14. Suppose we, that when our Lord Christ commanded them to baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, His disciples understood no more by all this than that those who should become proselytes to this new and true Judaism which our Lord preached, should be initiated unto the same by baptism, as proselytes then by custom were unto the law, because we see after the resurrection of our Lord, how strange it was to them that the Gospel should be
104 preached to the uncircumcised as such; suppose we further, that all the nation of the Jews, whether in Jewry or whereso-
e none but Jews had received the Gospel
at and new people of God to consist

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of all the same persons; I say all this supposed, shall make no manner of difference in the case: but there shall be as much difference between the old and new people of God, considered as societies and bodies, constituted, and therefore distinguished by the several covenants upon which they subsist, as if they consisted of all several persons.

§ 15. Should a man judge only by his bodily eyes, and see the people of Rome as it was when the sovereign power was in the people, and again, after it had been seized by Augustus, I could not blame him to say that it was the same people. But he that should look upon that people with his understanding, as a civil society, state, and commonwealth, and say it was the same, all men of understanding would laugh at him for it, how much soever the interest of Augustus required that it should seem the same to gross people. Apply this instance to the case in hand, and I shall need say no more. Several things must either have several names, or the same name in several notions or significations.

§ 16. If our Lord took upon Him to teach His disciples the new covenant He came to introduce, to make them the new people of God which He came thereby to constitute—such is the correspondence between the old and the new—the old name served best to signify the new thing; but in the same sense it could not serve to represent to His hearers the several terms upon which Jews and Christians are God's people.

§ 17. Be it therefore granted that the word *συναγωγὴ* and the word *ἐκκλησία*[x], with such additions as the place where they stand requires, signify that body which at the time when our Lord spoke was God's ancient people; this signification, if I mistake not, descending from the first bodying of them into a commonwealth in the wilderness, when they might and were all called and assembled together, to take resolution in what concerned their posterity—as commonwealths are presumed to be everlasting bodies—as well as themselves. When, after the return from the captivity of Babylon, they became dispersed into Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia, and elsewhere—owning still or challenging the same laws by owning which they first became one body—such

[x] See chap. vi. sect. 12.

bodies of them as lived in Alexandria, Antiochia, Ephesus, Nearda, Sora, Pombeditha, or other cities and their respective territories, are by the same reason to be called the synagogues of Alexandria, Ephesus, and so forth; being by that name sufficiently distinguished from the Gentile inhabitants of the same cities and territories.

§ 18. Neither is it pretended that there is any thing in the original force of the word *ἐκκλησία* or *συναγωγὴ*, why they should not both signify the same. But suppose our Lord Christ declare an intent of instituting a new people upon condition of embracing His Gospel, and use the old word *ἐκκλησία* to signify this new people—as well He may use it, for the near correspondence between them—necessary it is that His hearers, understanding Him, understand by that term something else than the law had declared afore. And very convenient it was afterwards, that when there fell out not only distinction but opposition between the two bodies, they should be divided by names as they were by affections; as the one is signified in all Church writers by the name of the synagogue, the other by the name of the Church, to signify the distance which ought not to be between them, but is. For though nothing is more odious than to quarrel about words, yet as in divers things else, the not appropriating the term of synagogue to the Jews, as of Church to the Church, which the fathers thoroughly observe, is an argument of not well distinguishing between the law and the Gospel—which[y] gives them a privilege in understanding the Scriptures above our times, because, as I said afore[z], this is, in my judgment, the prime point of it, notwithstanding all the advantages we have above them for learning—and a means to convey the same confusion to the minds of our hearers.

§ 19. When therefore we read in the Apostles' writings of the Churches of Judæa and Samaria, the Churches of Syria, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia; when we read of the Church of Rome, of Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, or Thessalonica: and
105 again, in other places, find the name of the Church absolutely put, without any addition, to signify the whole that containeth all the Churches named in other places, so often do we meet

[y] "Which distinguishing right between the Old and New Testament."—MSS.

[z] Chap. v. sects. 21, 22.

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with so many demonstrations to common sense, of several bodies signified by those that so speak, as intended to constitute one whole body of the Church. After which, nothing can be demanded but whether the intention of the Apostles prove them to be so only in point of fact, or in point of right, which demand a Christian cannot make. Our Lord in particular, when He answereth, Matt. xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," cannot be understood to speak of building the synagogue, which Moses had built so long afore.

nor any Christian state.

§ 20. Here I would desire him that thinks it so strange that our Lord should understand by the Church something else than the Jews signified by it, to ask the author of the Leviathan what reason he had, when he acknowledged[a] that the Church of Corinth, Ephesus, and Thessalonica, is the body of Christians living in those respective cities; and whether he had reason to affirm that the Church so signified, did do those acts of right which only bodies can do, and which he affirmeth the Church under the Apostles did do. For if these reasons be not reconcileable, it will be worth the considering, what truth there is in that position which is maintained by two[b], that cannot agree about the reasons upon which they maintain it.

§ 21. Neither let any difficulty be made from the difference that may arise who they be to whom our Lord commands there to resort, when He bids "tell the Church;" one, or more, or all. For when it is resolved that the Church is a body or a society, it will be by the nature of the subject manifest that the right of acting in behalf of this body must, by the constitution thereof, be reserved, either to one or to a few, or to the whole in some principal acts; in others, referring themselves to their deputies, as in popular governments. And whosoever they are that this right is reserved to, he that resorts to them is properly said to resort to the Church, though our Lord, declaring here the purpose of instituting a Church, declare not whom He will trust the power of acting for the Church with.

[a] See the passage cited in note q. chap. xi. sect. 9.

[b] Selden in his *de Synedriis Hebræorum*, and Hobbes, in the Leviathan.

§ 22. Before I go further, I must infer against the Leviathan, that seeing the whole Church is signified by the name of the Church absolutely put, without addition, by the Apostles, as the body which all particular Churches constitute, therefore the Church is understood and intended by them, as a body capable of right, and able to act, though not by all that are of it, yet by persons trusted for it. A thing which he that had remembered his creed could not have doubted of. For though the name of a Church may be said to rest in a number of men not united by any right into a visible body, yet one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church cannot consist of all persons maintaining the profession thereof—in opposition to all societies claiming that name, but not holding the profession requisite—but it must be distinguished by something which it acknowledgeth for law to oblige it, they do not.

§ 23. Again, if the name of Church in the Epistles rest upon the bodies of Christians in the cities of Rome, Corinth, and Ephesus, then can it not now, as of divine right, signify the several states, kingdoms, and commonwealths wherein Christianity subsisteth. Not only because the bounds of Christendom are not either materially or formally the same with the bounds of those states under which it is now maintained, but chiefly because the signification of that name in the Epistles, once resting by divine right upon those congregations, can never be transferred upon those commonwealths which subsist not by the same right, but necessarily descendeth upon those bodies which derive their succession from them by visible acts of human right.

§ 24. Against both I further infer, that the Church being signified as one by divine right in the Scriptures, can never be understood now to consist in all those states, kingdoms, and commonwealths that profess Christianity. First, because several states, kingdoms, and commonwealths are not apt to constitute one visible body, signified by the name of the Church absolutely put for the body of all Christians. For it is most truly said by Plato[c], that all states are naturally enemies to all states, but especially those that are borderers.

[c] Βλάβαι πολλαὶ καὶ σμικραὶ [illegible] πικρὰν γειτονίαν ἀπεργάζονται. — de γιγνόμεναι, διὰ τὸ θαμίζε[illegible]ius, viii. § 9. p. 378. ed. Bekker. μέγαν ἐντίκτουσαι, χαλ[illegible]ni, 1826. See Aristot. Politic. ii. 9.

BOOK I. And how should so many enemies be signified as constituting 106 one body? Secondly, and most evidently, because many parts which belong to the unity of the whole Church, and help to make up the whole, are not now governed by Christian powers, any more than the whole was from the beginning.

§ 25. In fine, whether the Leviathan[d] had reason so confidently to affirm that the Church can do no act, I report myself to that which hath been said[e] of the excluding of heretics and schismatics out of the Church; seeing it cannot be denied to be the act of the whole body—that is to say, of those that are able to act in behalf of the whole body—which the whole body is ruled by and obeys. For whether we have record extant of any council at which they were condemned, or whether they were condemned in that Church where they appeared; inasmuch as upon information of the proceedings, by daily intercourse and correspondence, the rest of the Church sentenced the same—as finding the rule of faith and the unity of the Church so to do—the excluding of them becomes the act of the whole Church. For how else are so many heresies and schisms come to an end with their fathers? Nay, I will boldly say, that whosoever died excommunicate, because being excluded by his own Church he could not be admitted by another Church, whosoever for fear of this, either submitted to that which any council ever decreed in matter of faith, or reconciled himself to his own Church that he might not be disowned by the whole, whatever instances thereof the records of the Church afford, so many witnesses we have of the acts which the whole Church either did, or was able to do.

[d] "As for keeping them out of their synagogues, or places of assembly, they had no power to do it, but that of the owner of the place, whether he were Christian or heathen. And because all places are by right, in the dominion of the commonwealth, as well he that was excommunicated as he that never was baptized, might enter into them by commission from the civil magistrates, as Paul before his conversion entered into their synagogues at Damascus; to apprehend Christians, men and women, and to carry them bound to Jerusalem, by commission from the high-priest."—Hobbes, pt. iii. chap. 42. p. 276. London, 1651.

[e] Chap. ix. sect. 19.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THE POWER OF THE CHURCH IS FOUNDED UPON THE LAW. THE POWER OF THE KINGDOM, PRIESTHOOD, PROPHETS, AND RULERS OF THAT PEOPLE ALL OF DIVINE RIGHT. HOW FAR THESE QUALITIES AND THE POWERS OF THEM ARE TO CONTINUE IN THE CHURCH. THE SENSE OF THE FATHERS IN THIS POINT. THAT THE ACTS OF ST. PAUL AND THE REST OF THE APOSTLES WERE NOT OF FORCE BY VIRTUE OF THE LAW. WHAT ECCLESIASTICAL POWER SHOULD HAVE BEEN AMONG THE JEWS, IN CASE THEY HAD RECEIVED THE GOSPEL, AND SO THE STATE HAD STOOD.

How the power of the Church is founded on the law.

AND now it will not be difficult to answer[f], that though the power of excommunicating did not belong to the synagogue by God's law, but by human constitution, providing for the maintenance of God's law, and that of secular power; yet is it of the Church's right by God's law, distinguishing the society thereof from the commonwealth. But this will not be effectually nor sufficiently done, unless I make the discourse general, and shew how the reason holds in other points of that right, upon which the Church is founded. I say then, that if it be true that St. Paul says, Rom. iii. 21, "Now the righteousness of God"—and so His Gospel, which proclaimeth that righteousness—"is manifested without the law, being witnessed by the law and the prophets;" then we are not to think that either the Church, or any part of that right upon which it subsisteth, can stand by the law, or be derived from it, otherwise than as Christianity itself, which destroyeth the law, may be derived from it, because, as St. Paul says, it is witnessed by it. For the law will not fail to yield us such arguments of those rights, as the correspondence thereof with the Gospel, that is to say, of the synagogue with the Church, requireth.

The power of the kingdom, priesthood, prophets, and rulers of that people all of divine right.

§ 2. Consider we then, that by the law God became king of His people, but under God, Moses His vicegerent; with this provision for succession, that he whom God should raise up in Moses's stead should be obeyed as Moses, Deut. xviii. 15. Besides, we know there were twelve princes of the twelve tribes from Moses to David, Num. i. 4—16; ii., iii., vii.;

[f] "The argument proposed chap. xi. that [illegible] by the law."—MSS. [illegible]tands not

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1 Chron. xxvii. 16; xxviii. 1. And under those princes, it seems, the tribes were divided into thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, the captains whereof were made judges under Moses during the march through the wilderness, Exod. xviii. 21; Deut. i. 15. And it should seem that the people continued to be divided by these thousands and hundreds in the 107
land, because we find that in David's time the whole land, and not only the soldiery were divided so, 1 Chron. xiii. 1, 2, 5; where David, advising with the captains of thousands and hundreds, is said to advise with the whole assembly of the people.

§ 3. But as for the office of judges, there is no question but another course is taken by the law of Deut. xvi. 18, when they should be planted in the land. For when order is taken that courts be set up in their cities, it is intimated that they were to come instead of those captains which had the ministering of justice in their hands, in the wilderness. And whereas, beside the assistance of these captains, Moses is allowed seventy more of the elders of Israel, upon whom his spirit is departed, to help him in bearing the burden of that people, Num. xi. 15—17; provision is made for succession by the law of Deut. xvii. 8—13, that there be always a standing court at the place where the ark should rest, to which the more difficult causes should resort from the courts of inferior cities, there to be finally decided. Which being to be the seat of Moses's successors, judges or kings, it is not only the constant tradition of the Jews, but of itself evident, that this court did exercise, and was to exercise, that power, which was first committed to them that were chosen for the assistance of Moses. Though nothing oblige us to believe that while the seat of the ark was either not declared, or not constantly used, it was always in force according to the intent of this law.

§ 4. Beside these powers established by the law for the government of that people, we have the priesthood tied by the law to the tribe of Levi, with divers privileges or petty jurisdictions in that quality annexed to it. For when God commandeth Aaron that he and his sons drink no wine or strong drink when they come into the tabernacle, "that they may distinguish between holy and common, between clean

and unclean, and teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord commanded them by Moses," Levit. x. 8—11; it is manifest that by this law the people is referred to them for resolution in the cases here intended, though what the cases are that are hereby intended, and what rule their resolution should be tied to, nothing hinders, by other laws to be declared and limited.

§ 5. And those ancient doctors of the Jews seem to have reason, that observe the terms of the law, Deut. xxi. 5, "every cause and every plague shall be according to their mouth;" inferring that all תוריות—which we may translate doctrines, but must understand that which the Greek calls *δόγματα*, or decrees—must come out of their mouth, *Siphri* 243, *Pesikta Zoterta* fol. 91. col. 4, and instancing in the causes to be purged by the ashes of the red cow, Num. xix., not as if none could sprinkle those ashes but a priest—which is otherwise ruled by Num. xix. 17, to be any man that was clean—but because they could not be burnt but by a priest, Num. xix. 3, which is by their law any priest, Maimoni in that title, i. 11, 12, and because part of them was set aside for priests to purify with, as another part for other Israelites, Maim. iii. 4.

§ 6. So in the causes concerning wives questioned by their husbands being jealous, by the law of Num. v. 15; the causes of murder for which an heifer was to be killed by breaking her neck, Deut. xxi. 4, 5; and in the plagues of men, houses and clothes, Deut. xxiv. 8, none of which could be decided without a priest. In this regard, it seems to me, the prophet says, "The priest's lips shall preserve knowledge, and they shall require the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts," Mal. ii. 7, and in terms Deut. xxxiii. 10, יורו משפטיך ליעקוב ותורתך לישראל, "They shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy laws." According to the other law, Deut. xvii. 11; על־פי התורה אשר יורוך, "According to the doctrine that they shall teach thee."

§ 7. Another power in that people is that of prophets, which seemeth to be founded upon the law of Deut. xviii. 20—22, where having commanded that the prophet which should succeed Moses [illegible] as Moses, the law proceedeth to charge them to pu[illegible]er should prophesy in

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the name of strange gods; and then, giving a rule whereby to discern between a true and a false prophet, seems to intimate the authority of prophets. Which was so very great in that people, that the kings themselves were to obey them, so 108
long as they had the reputation of true prophets; whereupon we see how they reprove them, Elias Ahab, 1 Kings xviii. 17, Elisha the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 33, John Baptist and our Lord Christ Herod, Matt. xiv. 4, Luke xiii. 32; though when their reputation could by faction be questioned, so often were they questioned, condemned, and killed for the messages they brought in God's name, as the Apostle saith, Heb. xi. 37, and as it befel our Lord Christ.

§ 8. Nay further, that when they taught that any particular law should cease for the time, they were to be obeyed, as Elias commanded to offer sacrifice in another place than at Jerusalem, 1 Kings xviii. 30—38, contrary to the law of Levit. xv. 2—9[g], the temple being then on foot. Whereby it appeareth that the prophets had their authority immediately from God, not depending so much as upon His law further than as the acknowledgment of the authority of it to come from God was a necessary condition to the receiving of them for prophets, as I said afore[h]; seeing the matter thereof might cease to oblige, if they should declare the will of God to be such.

§ 9. The commonwealth then of Israel subsisting by divine right—that is, by the appointment of God giving them freedom, and the command of themselves, upon condition of undertaking the law—not only the kingdom, which is the form of government limited by the sovereign power placed in one person, whether by the permission of God or His appointment, together with the ministers thereof, judges and magistrates and officers, but also the priestly and prophetical office, must be understood to stand by the same title.

How far these qualities, and the powers of them, are to continue in the Church.

§ 10. As for the Church, which we have seen[i] to be the spiritual Israel of God, and maintain to be one visible body, by virtue of undertaking the covenant of grace which the Gospel tendereth, it is manifest that the king thereof is the Lord Christ, who professeth not to govern it by His bodily presence but by the law of His word, and by the invisible

[g] See Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 16.

[h] Chap. iii. sects. 10—12.

[i] Chap. viii. sect. 1.

presence of His Spirit, which was to commence upon His departure. That, being here, He appointed twelve Apostles as patriarchs thereof under Him, as the twelve princes of the tribes were under Moses, and seventy disciples, or apostles of an inferior rank, under Himself also, as they under Moses; but for the despatch of such business concerning His kingdom, as that which neither the captains of thousands and hundreds—who were ordained judges before the seventy were ordained to assist Moses—neither after them the judges of particular cities that succeeded them, could decide.

§ 11. And shall we not conclude all this correspondence to be as competent an argument as we are to expect for the New Testament in the Old, for the constitution of the Church, in the institution of the synagogue? To wit, that seeing we see God hath appointed our Lord Christ, He His twelve Apostles and seventy disciples His ministers in governing of it, that He intended it a visible body, to which the visible right of governing the same might be conveyed, by the reasonable voluntary act of those, in whom, placing the power, He must needs place the right of propagating the same in His own absence.

[One point of difference in this correspondence.]

§ 12. One point indeed of difference there is, wherein we should abuse ourselves too much, to seek for any correspondence between the synagogue and the Church. For we suppose the intent of God to have been, that the law should oblige one people, but the Gospel all that are to attain salvation out of all people, so that there is no particular seat of God's worship according to the Gospel, to which all Christians are bound to resort, as Jerusalem was the seat of God's worship which all Jews were to resort to. And we suppose our Lord Christ to be in heaven, where the princes of Israel and the seventy elders cannot be present to assist Him with their ministry. Therefore we cannot imagine that He appointed His seventy disciples for a standing assembly, as under the law; but to be dispersed all over the world, where Christian people should be, though united by the same rule which all should follow for the preserving of Christendom in unity.

§ 13. Let no man therefore any more imagine that the title by which any po[illegible] or pretended to be held in

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the Church, can be derived from that right which the priesthood held under the law; so as from thence to infer, that the power which the priesthood had not under the law is not under the Gospel to be ascribed unto the Church, as it is the Church. For I do of my own accord allege, that seeing the priesthood was purely ceremonial, to figure that expiation of sin which Christ should bring to pass, and therefore to expire when it was brought to pass, it is not possible to imagine that any right of the Church can be founded upon the right thereof, or derived from it[j].

[The office of prophets not necessarily to continue in the Church.]

§ 14. Neither is it otherwise with the prophetical office. The authority whereof, as I have shewed[k], was of divine right under the law, as depending immediately upon the will of God, that raised them up, and gave them authority by those evidences, which His own law had made legal; and this, that He might tie His people the more strongly by their ministry, and by the evidence of His presence among them, to observe His law. And yet, inasmuch as all Christians must believe them forerunners of Christ, sent to give notice of His coming by such means as God that sent Him thought fit—so that He, by His office, is the chief prophet, to whom the Father reserved the full declaration of His will and pleasure, concerning the alliance He intended to hold with men—of necessity their office was to expire in Him, neither can it remain in the Church, further than He, by a new act, may appear to have appointed.

[What corresponds under the Gospel with the legal priesthood.]

§ 15. I do not here make any doubt that St. Paul argued very well when he said, 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14, "Know ye not that they which work holy things eat of the holy? That they who wait upon the Altar, take part with the Altar? So also hath God appointed them that bring news of the Gospel to live of the Gospel." But he that will understand this argument must make up the comparison, by completing the correspondence between the bringing of souls to Christ, by preaching the Gospel, and the sacrificing of living creatures to God, by executing the law. This correspondence the Apostle himself hath declared to our hands, Rom. xv. 15, 16, "Because of the grace given me of God," saith he, "that I

[j] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. ii. sect. 32.

[k] Right of the Church, Review, chap. iv. sects. 8—10.

should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, exercising the sacred function of preaching the Gospel of God, that the oblation of the Gentiles may be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." And Phil. ii. 17: "Nay, though I be poured forth upon the sacrifice and ministry of your faith, I rejoice, and that jointly with you all."

§ 16. Where it appeareth, that by submitting to the Gospel men become a sacrifice to God, inasmuch as they die to the world, and that they who bring them to Christianity are the priests that offer this sacrifice; and by this priesthood it is that the Apostle challengeth a right of living upon preaching the Gospel, as the priests lived by attending upon the sacrifices of the law. Which if it be true, then is the Apostles' office that priesthood under the Gospel, which was to remain by the correspondence thereof with the law, and therefore cannot derive any title from the Levitical priesthood, which it maketh void.

[Of prophets under the law and the Gospel.]

§ 17. As for the office of prophets under the Gospel, it is plain by St. Paul's Epistles, that it pleased God, among other miraculous graces of the Holy Ghost, whereby He evidenced His presence in the Church, to stir up prophets in those primitive Churches, by whom, besides, they might be instructed in the more solid understanding of their Christianity, as may appear in particular by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. Which being supposed, can any man imagine that the office of those prophets, and the authority which it importeth, can be derived from the prophets under the law, whose office expired in Christ? His act it must be to give authority to prophets under the Gospel; and since we have shewed[l] that the chief authority which He left in the Church was left with His Apostles, it followeth by consequence—which by other Scriptures, in another place[m], I have shewed to have been true—that the Apostles, by their office, were the chief prophets of the Church; though, as for the continuance of the gift of prophecy, under the Gospel there is no promise recorded, as under the law there is; so neither any precept requiring obedience to their office, as then I have shewed there was[n].

[l] Chap. viii. sect. 1.

[m] Right of the Church, Review, chap. ii. sect. 9.

[n] Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 16; and Review, chap. iv. sectt.

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§ 18. In fine, God by Christ designed to raise up children to Abraham, which are the new Israel according to the spirit; He hath given the Apostles and disciples of our Lord that authority over them, which may answer the power of the patriarchs and elders of His ancient people under Moses; He hath incorporated into their office under the Gospel, the authority both of priests and prophets under the law, which both were to cease with the law; therefore we are not to derive any power of the Church from the rights of the priesthood under the law, nor to argue that the Church hath no right to that power, which the priesthood, as then, was not seised of.

§ 19. But whatsoever power was in the princes of tribes and their inferiors, in the elders and judges of Israel, for the civil government of that people under Moses, the same we must infer to have been in the Apostles and disciples of Christ—and, by consequence, in them to whom they may appear to have committed any part of it—for the government of the Church under our Lord Christ; saving the difference which the condition whereupon either people are gathered into one society importeth; which is, in them, the possession of the land of promise upon the observation of the law, in us, the kingdom of heaven upon the faith of Christ. And therefore in them inferreth temporal power in disposing of causes and things of this world, in these, only the power of directing in spiritual matters, wherein the Church, by the covenant of grace, doth communicate.

The sense of the fathers in this point.

§ 20. This opinion may seem to some men not to agree with the doctrine of the most ancient fathers, who do many times argue what order ought to be held in the Church, from that which the law provided for the Levitical priesthood; as Clemens, *Ep. ad Corinthios*, p. 53[o], from the order which the law had prescribed for the sacrifices prescribed by it, argueth that the like ought to be kept in the Church. And St. Cyprian[p], that, as Eleazar was consecrated high-priest by

[o] Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται καὶ Λευίταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω Θεῷ, ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι.—Capp. xl. xli. p. 169. ed. Coteler.

[p] Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus

Moses before the congregation of the people, so ought ordinations to be celebrated before the assembly of the Church. Which kind of argument seems to have no force, unless we derive the offices of the Church from the Levitical priesthood; together with abundance of passages to the same purpose, whereof it shall be enough to have produced these for an example.

§ 21. But this kind of argument is easily stopped by one instance. For it is manifest that the like argument of instruction or exhortation to those that claim by and under the Apostles, may be drawn from divers passages of the ancient Scriptures, wherein the prophets of the law are exhorted to do, or reproved for neglecting, their office; and yet no man can go about to derive the right of their authority from the prophets' office by the law of Moses. And then it is easily answered, that nothing hinders the same reason that appears in the ordinances of the Levitical priesthood to be of evident consequence in the ordering of God's Church. Not because the order of the Church depends upon the priesthood, but because both are from God, who hath expressed those marks of His wisdom in the elder, that may seem to direct the later, though claiming no title from it. This reason is general.

§ 22. There is another more particular to be drawn from that which hath been shewed, that the Apostles and disciples of Christ, as governors of God's spiritual Israel, and therefore those that claim a right answerable to theirs, have in them both the office of the Levitical priesthood, and of legal prophets, in such consideration, and to such purpose as the effect of those offices under the Gospel in the Church requireth. Whereupon, if at any time the fathers of the Church do argue or dispute the office of those who claim by the Apostles and disciples of Christ, from those things which are said in the Old Testament, concerning the Levitical priesthood, or the prophets under the law; much more ordinary it is to find them grounding the like instructions and exhortations upon those things which are said in the Old Testament, concerning the rulers and judges of Israel according to the flesh.

constitui sacerdotem, id est, instruit et ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales, as it follows in Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 2.

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§ 23. What is more ordinary in Tertullian[q], Origen[r], St. Cyprian[s], Clemens[t], Justin[u], the Apostolical Constitutions[x], the rest of the most ancient fathers[y] of the Church,

[q] Sic Zacharias comminatur, 'exurge romphæa in pastores,' &c. In quos et Ezechiel et Hieremias iisdem minis perorant, quod non tantum, quod non tantum de pecoribus improbe vescantur pascentes potius semetipsos, verum et dispersum gregem faciant in prædam esse omnibus bestiis agri, dum non est pastor illis. Quod nunquam magis fit, quam cum in persecutione destituitur Ecclesia a clero." —De Fuga in Persec., cap. xi. p. 973. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

[r] Nec miseris sane si Angelos dicimus venire cum hominibus ad judicium, cum Scriptura dicat, quia 'ipse Dominus ad judicium veniet cum senioribus populi et cum principibus ejus.' Ostentantur ergo principes, et si in illis culpa est, desinit ira Dei a populo. Debet nobis et acrior esse solicitudo actuum nostrorum, scientibus quod non solum nos ante tribunal Dei pro actibus nostris stabimus, sed Angeli pro nobis ad judicium deducentur tanquam principes et duces nostri. Propterea enim et Scriptura dicit; Obedite præpositis vestris, et obtemperate eis in omnibus. Ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri."—Hom. in Num. xxi. § 4. tom. ii. p. 351. ed. Ben.

[s] Nec putent sibi vitæ aut salutis constare rationem si Episcopis et sacerdotibus obtemperare noluerint, cum in Deuteronomio Dominus Deus dicat: 'Et homo quicumque fecerit in superbia, ut non exaudiat sacerdotem' &c. Interfici Deus jussit sacerdotibus non obtemperantes, et judicibus a se ad tempus constitutis non obaudientes. Et tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc et circumcisio carnalis manebat. Nunc autem, quia circumcisio spiritalis esse apud fideles servos Dei cœpit, spiritali gladio et contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesia ejiciuntur.--Ep. lxii. *ad Pomponium*, p. 103. ed. Ben.

[t] *Προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως, πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένος. . . . . οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτοί τε καὶ μακάριοι, τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν· τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶν καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται καὶ Λευίταις ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται.*— Ep. i. ad Corinth. cap. xl. pp. 168, 169. ed. Coteler.

[u] *Οὓς ὁμοίως ὑμῖν μεταπείθειν μὴ πλανᾶσθαι ἀγωνιζόμεθα, εἰδότες ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δυνάμενος λέγειν τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ μὴ λέγων, κριθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ Ἰεξεκιὴλ διεμαρτύρατο ὁ Θεὸς εἰπών, ὅτι σκοπὸν τέθεικά σε τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα' . . . . . διὰ δέος οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς σπουδάζομεν ὁμιλεῖν κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν, ἢ φιλοδοξίαν, ἢ φιληδονίαν· ἐν οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐλέγξαι ἡμᾶς ὄντας δύναταί τις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὑμετέρου θέλομεν ζῆν, οὓς ὀνειδίζει ὁ Θεὸς λέγων οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν κοινωνοὶ κλεπτῶν, φιλοῦντες δῶρα, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα.* —Dial. cum Tryph. Jud., cap. lxxxii. pp. 179, 180. ed. Ben.

[x] *Ἀκούσατε οἱ ἐπίσκοποι· καὶ ἀκούσατε οἱ λαϊκοὶ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Θεὸς, κρινῶ κριὸν πρὸς κριὸν, καὶ πρόβατον πρὸς πρόβατον· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ποιμένας λέγει, κριθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν τῆς ἀπειρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ πρόβατα διαφθορᾶς, τοῦτεστιν, ἐπίσκοπον πρὸς ἐπίσκοπον κρινῶ, καὶ λαϊκὸν πρὸς λαϊκον· καὶ ἄρχοντα πρὸς ἄρχοντα, λογικὰ γὰρ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ οἱ κριοὶ οὗτοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλογα.*— Lib. ii. cap. xix. Labbei, tom. i. col. 245. ed. Venet.

[y] Qua in re semper solicita consideratione pensandum est, ne aut hi qui præsunt exempla mali operis subjectis præbeant, eorumque vitam suæ gladio pravitatis extinguant; aut hi qui alieno regimini subjacent, facile judicare audeant facta rectorum, atque per hoc, quod de his qui sibi prælati sunt, murmurant, non humano, sed ei qui cuncta disponit, divino ordini contradicant. Illis namque dicitur, 'Oves meæ his quæ conculcata pedibus vestris fuerant, pascebantur, et quæ pedes vestri turbaverant, hæc bibebant.' Oves enim turbata pedibus bibunt, cum subjecti ea ad exemplum vivendi appetunt, quæ prælati quique pravo opere pervertunt. At contra a prælatis hi audiunt; 'Nos enim quid sumus? Nec contra nos est murmur vestrum, sed contra Dominum.' Qui enim contra

than to draw into consequence the rebellion of Corah, and the law of obeying that which the priests and judges of every age should ordain concerning difficulties of the law, against schism in the Church? Those things which the prophets, Esay lvi. 10, 11, Jer. ii. 8, iii. 15, xxiii. 1—4, Ez. xxxiv. 1—16, pronounce against the shepherds of Israel; against those that claim under the Apostles in the Church? For the prophets themselves, Esay lvi. 10, 11, Jer. ii. 8, xxiii. 1—4, Ez. xxxiv. 23, do manifestly shew that these
111 shepherds are the rulers of the people, distinguishing them both from the priests and the prophets. And the interest of Christianity requires that the promise of raising up better shepherds be understood to be fulfilled in the holy Apostles. He that doubts of the sense of the fathers in this point let him take the pains to read St. Basil upon the third of Esay[z], and see how he expounds those things which are prophesied against the rulers of God's ancient people, against those that offend like them in ruling God's Church.

That the acts of St. Paul and the rest of the Apostles were not in

§ 24. And therefore it is utterly impertinent to the power and right of the Church, which is observed as matter of consequence to it, in the second book *de Synedriis Hebræorum* vii. 7[a], that St. Paul ordained presbyters in the Churches,

superpositam sibi potestatem murmurat, liquet quod illum redarguit, qui eandem homini potestatem dedit.—S. Gregor. Magn. Moral., lib. xxii. § 56. tom. i. col. 728. ed. Ben.

[z] Κἂν ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ἴδῃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν πανουργίᾳ δολούντων τὸν λόγον ἀγομένην, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, γίνωσκε ὅτι ἐμπαῖκται κυριεύουσιν αὐτῆς, ὃ διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ πιθανολογίας ἐξαπατῶντες τοὺς ἀκεραιοτέρους. . . . .

Φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς φθάνῃ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πάροντος καιροῦ ὦσιν αἱ προφητεῖαι αὗται· ὅτε παῖδες νέοι τὴν ἡλικίαν, νεαρώτεροι τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσκόπτουσι, μήτε τὰς ἱερουργίας αὐτῶν προσιέμενοι, μητὲ τὴν πρέπουσαν εὐταξίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φυλάσσοντες, καὶ ὅταν δὲ κακῶς βεβιωκότες κατὰ τῶν εὐπολιτεύτων στρατεύωνται, οἱ ἄτιμοι τοῖς ἐντίμοις προσκόπτουσιν. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν ἄνδρας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπὸ μέθης καὶ γαστριμαργίας, ἀπὸ τῶν χαμαιτυπιῶν ἀνισταμένους, καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ διαλεγομένους, καὶ κρίνοντας τοὺς τιμίους τοῦ λαοῦ;—Comm. in Esai. iii. 4, 5. tom. i. p. 455. ed. Ben.

[a] Scimus etiam Paulum Apostolum Hierosolymis educatum instructumque fuisse παρὰ πόδας Γαμαλιὴλ ad pedes Gamalielis—qui pro Rabban Gamaliel illo celebri, Hillelis, ex Simeone filio, nepote sumitur—id est auditorem ejus illum fuisse diligentissimum atque ab eo fuisse πεπαιδευμένον κατ' ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου. . . . . .

Presbyteratus autem dignitatem ante dictam, ab Gamaliele accepisse Paulum antequam Christo nomen dederat, non videtur omnino dubitandum. Ille vero sic ritibus moribusque patriis imbutus, aliique tunc presbyteri Christianismo, doctrina propagando, sedulo incumbentes, presbyteros in munus illud docendi, prædicandi, explicandi, solvendi, ligandi, precandi, etiam extra terram palam ordinabant, dico in munus illud docendi, &c. Nam in facultatem judiciariam seu forensem aliquam quosquam eos sic ordinasse credibile non est.—Pp. 197, 198. Amstelædami, 1679.

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force by virtue of the law.

Acts xiv. 22, as himself without doubt had received ordination from his master Gamaliel in the synagogue; for if the meaning be only that he ordained them by imposing hands, as himself perhaps was ordained, he tells no news, for that is it which the Scripture affirmeth. But if he mean further that St. Paul did this by authority received from Gamaliel, it will be ridiculous to imagine that St. Paul, by the power which he had from the synagogue, was enabled to give that authority in the Church which the synagogue found itself obliged to persecute, as destructive to it.

§ 25. Besides, it is easily said that the Apostles, finding that it was then a custom to ordain those elders which were wont to be created in the synagogue, for such ends and to such faculties as the constitution thereof required, by imposing hands; and intending to confer a like power in Church matters upon the like order in the Church, which by such acts they institute, held fit to use the same ceremony in ordaining them which was in use, to the like but several purposes, in the synagogue. In which case it is manifest that the power so conferred cannot be derived from that which the synagogue gave—and therefore not limited by it—but by that which the society of the Church and the constitution thereof requires.

§ 26. As suppose for the purpose that by the Jews' law at that time, they created elders to judge in criminal causes only in the land of Israel, but for inferior purposes—as of resolving doubts in conscience rising upon the law, by pronouncing this or that lawful or unlawful to be done—in other places; is it reason therefore to infer, as it is there inferred, p. 322[b], that when St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. v. 12, "Do not ye judge those that are within?" he must not be understood of any judgment which the presbyters of the Church exercised there, because out of the land of promise elders were not ordained for judges by the synagogue? I say nothing of the point itself for the present, I say it is no argument to infer

[b] Neque omnino obstat, Paulum scripsisse ad Corinthios ubi monet eos de evitando sceleratorum commercio, 'Nonne de iis qui intus sunt, vos judicatis?' quasi judicia inter eos forensia aliqua, verbis illis designasset. . . . . Cæterum, quantum ad controversias litesve aliquas forenses cujuscunque generis, Christiani Corinthii synedria seu synedros judicarios e presbyteris aliquibus constitutos neutiquam omnino tunc sibi, ne obtentu quidem aliquo habuere.—Lib. ii. cap. vii. § 8. Londini 1653.

thus, as is inferred p. 325[c], the elders which the synagogue made were not enabled to judge out of the land of promise; therefore in the Christian Church there was no power to judge the causes of Christians at that time, unless we derive the authority of the Church from the synagogue.

§ 27. As for that which is argued, p. 328[d], that had they conferred any other power than the rules of the synagogue allowed, they would have been questioned and persecuted for it by the Jews, either in their own courts or before the Gentiles—inasmuch as the Christians had then no protection for their religion, which the Jews had, but as they passed for Jews in the empire—it dependeth merely upon the opinion the Jews themselves had of Christianity. For where the Jews stood yet at a bay, expecting the trial of that truth which the Gospel pretended, not proceeding to persecute the profession of Christianity, it is not to be imagined that they should proceed to persecute those acts which were done in prosecution of it. But where the separation was complete, and enmity declared, no man need bid a Jew persecute a Christian for any thing that he did as a Christian, nor a Christian to suffer for that which a Jew should persecute. All the question only was, how far both their masters, that is, the powers of the empire, would make themselves executioners of their hatred—Christianity being hitherto tolerated though not protected—till the laws of the empire had declared

[c] Qui illic ordinati fuerant, aut alibi extra terram ordinati illuc accesserant, in ligandi, solvendi, docendi facultatem tantum, non in judicandi, creati. Et tametsi intra terram ordinati fuissent, non omnino inde extra terram, seu Corinthi, judiciis, inter suos criminalibus . . . . . aliquibus idonei fiebant, neque eorum quisquam exercere ea potuit aliter atque ex disciplina inter se confœderata illa, et pro arbitrio principum quorum in ditionibus degerent, permissum esset; quod tum ex ante dictis, tum et inferius sequentibus est manifestum.—Lib. ii. cap. vii. § 8. p. 206. Amstel. 1679.

[d] Accedat hic, ne quidem cum ratione ulla existimari posse, Judæos, qui nondum Christo tunc nomina dederent, utpote Paulo reliquisque presbyteris Christianismum tunc pronuntiantibus, presbyterosque ubique infensissimos, noluisse eos aut in jus apud suos ut rituum morumque patriorum violatores manifestissimos vocare aut aliter acrius incusare, si facultatem aliquam judiciariam seu forensem, extra terram ordinando, presbyteris, contra majorum scita receptissima contulissent. Et quantum ad facultatem simpliciter ligandi, solvendi, docendi extra terram, ordinando ab eis donatam, tantundem dicendum. Scilicet, nisi ordinationem illiusmodi etiam tam extra terram quam intra, fas haberetur, apud Judæos veteres, adhiberi—quam a Paulo, Barnaba, aliis tunc extra terram adhibitam, ut ostensum est, scimus—anne credibile est, eos etiam gravissimas incusationes ac convicia non perpessos fuisse, ob rem sic contra morem majorum patratam?—Lib. ii. cap. vii. § 8. p. 209. Amstelædami,

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against Christianity, which at that time it is plain they had not done.

[Selden's theory of ordination,]

§ 28. As little do I think it concerns the right of the Church, which is there observed, vii. 4. p. 287[e], that ordination by imposition of hands was merely of human institution in the synagogue, and no way derived from the example of Moses laying hands upon Joshua, Num. xxvii. 18—23, which, being a singular case, can no way ground a rule. For supposing that by the law, a judiciary power, or whatever inferior right was to be maintained and conveyed by the act of those which were legally possessed of it, or the right of conveying it; let all limitations whereby the way of conveying it was determined, be counted as much of human right as you please, the power so conveyed cannot be merely of human right, being established by God's law, with a power of limiting all circumstances in propagating of it, which are not against God's law, but according to it. As for the Apostles of our Lord Christ—all whose acts, done with intent to oblige the Church, are of force by God's act of establishing them—all that can remain questionable is, with what intent they introduced their ordinances into the Church, which are unquestionably of force by God's law, for whatsoever they intended, whatsoever the synagogues might intend by the like.

[and of the power of the keys.]

§ 29. As for that voluntary conjecture of p. 315[f], which makes the twelve Apostles, created with power of binding and loosing, so many elders to declare what was lawful and unlawful in Christianity; I admit all, understood according to the premises. To wit, that as there was in those elders

[e] Adeoque quicquid ad creationem seu ordinationem solennem, nominisque presbyteri notionem variam, ipsamque manuum impositionem apud eos attinuit, ex more majorum, seu jure inter ipsos humano, pro eorum qui summa rerum præerant arbitratu, introducto pendebat, non ex jure quod eos ex præscripto obligaret divino aliquo, quasi hoc vel illo modo presbyteri jure divino ordinandi apud eos fuissent. . . . . .

Et tametsi Moses ex præcepto Divino manus imponebat Josuæ, adeoque eum in presbyteratus dignitatem universalem ita ordinabat, nihilominus non inde secutum est, ut presbyteri aliqui, quasi jure illinc divino sic imposterum ordinarentur.—P. 182. Amstel. 1679.

[f] Etenim presbyteri erant inter 'habitantes in Judæa fratres.' Atque id genus forsan fuere qui ab Apostolis eum manuum impositione, id est, ritu plene creandi tunc Judaico, et in Christianismum dein, per omnia sæcula, derivato, ante Hierosolymis ordinarentur, uti etiam ipsi discipuli duodecim Christi, qua facultas eis ab eo donata erat, ligandi et solvendi, indeque peccata remittendi retinendique, id est, declarandi, et cum autoritate docendi qualiter et quousque quis peccatis sive ligatus esset sive solutus.—Lib. ii. cap. vii. § 7. p. 199. Amstel. 1679.

which the synagogue created, a power to declare what was lawful or unlawful by the law of Moses, to make a man capable or incapable of the society of that people to which those promises were made, but in every one as his creation limited, so were the Apostles ordained by our Lord to declare to the world upon what terms it might be reconciled to God and obtain everlasting life: and those whom they prevailed not with, they are therefore said to bind, because they loosed them not. And as they held this power in chief, and fully to all purposes, so all that claim any part of it under them must claim no more than the act by which they conveyed it upon them may appear to have limited.

[The form of ordaining from the synagogue, but the authority from the Apostles.]

§ 30. But it were too great an impertinence to imagine that this power depended any way upon that authority which the law might allow or constitute, even in our Lord Christ—supposing Him a prophet acknowledged according to the law otherwise than as the Gospel depends upon the law, and the Church upon the synagogue: in that they give evidence to them by which they are made void. For that which our Lord gives His Apostles, is more than the law was ever able to effect, if the premises be true, though the law gave competent witness and evidence to it. Neither is there any more force in that which is conjectured in the same place[g], that the seven who are created to wait upon the tables, or common diet of the Christians at Jerusalem, Acts vi., are also so many elders, because made by imposing hands. For if it be the authority of the Apostles that made imposition of hands in force to Christians—though they had a pattern from the synagogue to move them to introduce it—who shall limit them not to use it, unless they be elders whom they ordain? and therefore who shall conclude that they are elders, because so ordained?

What ecclesiastical power should

§ 31. If these things be true, it will be easy to resolve the consequence of that supposition which is propounded in the preface to that book[h]. To wit, supposing the Jews in the

[g] Nam ut Paulus a Gamaliele ante ordinatus ita etiam Barnabam ab ipso Christo, inter discipulos duodecim in eandem dignitatem evectum esse æquum est ut sentiamus. 'Simile dicendum est de Simeone Nigro, Lucio Cyrenensi, et Manaen qui, e Paulo, προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι, 'Prophetæ et doctores' pariter ibi cum ipso et Barnaba nuncupantur.—De Synedr., lib. ii. cap. vii. § 7. p. 201. Amstel. 1679.

[h] Num, si Christianismum tempore Apostolorum amplexati, ut

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have been among the Jews, in case they had received the Gospel, and so the state had stood.

land of promise had received Christianity at the preaching of the Apostles, as they ought to have done, and so that their estate had continued as it did—which, for refusing it, was taken away—whether the civil law of that people, continuing as it ought to continue, should have had the same power in ecclesiastical causes as it had in ordering all things that concerned the ceremonial law. For if so, then no ecclesiastical power could have subsisted among the Jews, and therefore no cause could be alleged why other nations, embracing Christianity, should not reserve the same power to their own civil law.

§ 32. For supposing the covenant under Moses to be no more in force at such time as the new is on foot, which the preaching of the Apostles had declared to be the intent of the old, at such time as Christ should come; it will follow indeed, that the reason why the nation was taken away—that is, the refusal of the Gospel—ceasing, God might have preserved them in estate, had He pleased, but, by the terms of the covenant which was expired, could not be tied to it. But sup- 113
posing He had preserved them so, we must then suppose that the civil law of Moses ought to be still maintained among that people, not by the covenant, which being expired, and the condition of the land of promise holding no longer, when the taking up of Christ's cross is propounded and admitted by receiving Christianity, the obligation of maintaining the same civil law can no further hold than the reason of maintaining Christianity should require; that is, so far as the quiet of that

debuere, fuissent retinuissentque Ebræi veteres, nec excidio fuisset respublica eorum deleta, num, inquam synedria, scilicet, magnum et minora, penes quæ parile, quantum ad sacra, simul atque profana, passim imperium erat et jurisdictio—ut in sequentibus demonstratur—in Christianismo illo Terræ Sanctæ, manere etiam non solum jure potuissent, sed etiam ut legitima illis et Mosaica, retineri debuissent? etiam quoad Christianismi sacra in Aharonicorum, quæ tandem prorsus evanuissent, vicem sic tunc succedentia? Id est, utrum leges politicæ, seu jus illic quod vocamus judiciale; circa universa quotquot Aharonici seu cæremonialis nomine non abolerentur, eundem quem ante, juxta regiminis pristini analogiam, locum Hierosolymis, et per Judæam, id est, terram cujus populo sibi selecto Deus ipse hæc in regiminis formam præscripserat perpetuam, debuisset sortiri? Nam ex jure illo judiciali, adeoque ex divino populo illi dato, eoque præceptivo, orto, pendet quicquid de synedriali imperio et jurisdictione possit concipi. Certe si ita se res habere voluisset, dubitari, puto, nequit quin fas fuerit Christianis —dum rem saltem, ad jus quod Judæis, adeoque Christianis inter eos primituris in usu fuerit, exigendam velint— in reliquis politiis omnimodis idem circa forensia omnia imitari, tametsi non omnino ad illud fuerint obligati.— Præfatio libri Secundi, pp. 5, 6. Amstelædami, 1679.

people, in the privileges which till then they enjoyed, would evidently have been for the advancement and maintenance of Christianity, and the preserving of the laws which they were always tied to, as evidently for the quiet of that people.

§ 33. For suppose at this hour a synagogue of Jews in the empire, or in Italy, or wheresoever else they subsist, should receive Christianity; neither would any obligation of the law remain upon them, why they should not give it all over to become free denizens of the states in which they dwelt afore their conversion—which is that, as I suppose, that Christian states ought to propose to them, to move them to embrace Christianity—neither is there any thing to difference their case now from those of our Lord's time, that enjoyed so much of their own laws in the land of promise. And supposing that God had been pleased to preserve them in that estate, we must also suppose that God, intending His Church as well of the Gentiles as Jews, intended both to make parts of it upon the same terms. And therefore that power which the Apostles left for the preserving of unity in the communion of the service of God, for which the society of the Church stands, that, as well Jews as Gentiles must have admitted, as a part of the Christianity which they professed, bounding the force of their own civil laws, upon the same terms as we shew the civil laws of other nations, that received Christianity, are to be bounded with in Church matters.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHURCH FOUNDED UPON THE POWER GIVEN THE APOSTLES. WHAT IS THE SUBJECT MATTER OF CHURCH LAWS. THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH TO TITHES AND OBLATIONS IS NOT GROUNDED UPON THE LAW, THOUGH EVIDENCED BY IT, AND BY THE PRACTICE OF THE PATRIARCHS. EVIDENCE OF THE APOSTLES' ORDER IN THE SCRIPTURES. THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM HELD NOT COMMUNITY OF GOODS. THE ORIGINAL PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH.

The Church founded upon the power given the Apostles.

HAVING thus far shewed the foundation of ecclesiastical power in the Apostles and disciples of our Lord Christ—whom we may justly affirm to have been the Church materially as so many Christians, but, in virtue and force, as much as the whole Church can ever be—it will not be requisite, to

BOOK I. those that consider things aright, to argue that their acts and ordinances must of necessity have the force of God's laws to the Church, as much as those things which God said alone to Moses in the tabernacle of assembling, had the force of laws to His ancient people. For those that consider the beginnings of states from the beginning of the world, shall easily find that people were not governed from the beginning by written laws, but reasonable and lawful[1] consent in some person or quality of persons—whether of God's designing or man's choosing—to govern in chief, was at first a law sufficient to constitute any commonwealth, as being sufficient to produce all other laws, which dissatisfaction should make requisite for determining common differences, either in writing, or by silent custom.

§ 2. Thus was the commonwealth of Israel constituted under Moses, so soon as that people had received God for their king, and referred themselves to Moses for the man by whom they should understand His will and pleasure. Nevertheless, because the wisdom of God easily foresaw how lightly those who presently received Him for their king, would be moved to fall away from Him to other gods—that which was as easy for His wisdom to do—He gave them presently such laws in writing, both for the ceremonies wherewith He would be worshipped, as held the most particular difference from those which the nations worshipped their gods with; and for 114
their civil conversation, as might best distinguish them from all other nations that were fallen away to the worship of idols. And all this, beside the secret intent of foretelling and figuring the Gospel in and by the same.

§ 3. This was the intent of the decalogue first, then of those laws which Moses received in the mount to be delivered to the people, Exod. xxii., xxiii., xxiv., and lastly, of the rest which Moses received in the tabernacle from God's mouth, speaking with Him as God saith, "face to face." [Exod. xxxiii. 11.] When God the Father had sent our Lord Christ to publish His Gospel, and to declare the intent of founding His Church upon it, when our Lord Christ had declared His intent of leaving the world, and the prosecution of His Gospel, and gathering of His Church to His Apostles

[1] "Without fraud or force."—MSS.

and disciples, then was the society of the Church founded in as full force of authority as ever can have been in it since; though not yet actually a Church, because the materials of it are not men but Christians, that is, such as, by receiving Christianity, should come into the communion of it.

What is the subject-matter of Church laws.

§ 4. Besides, God intending one communion of all that should become Christians out of all nations; and therefore pretending to maintain the state of this world, and all the commonwealths in which the Church standeth, on the same terms which it findeth; dischargeth the Church of all that power to force men to obedience by harm of this world, by which all states maintain themselves. Therefore the Church can pretend no more than to communicate in some certain particulars, for which the society thereof is erected, and in the communion whereof it consisteth.

[Their obligation.]

§ 5. Suppose we then the law of Moses to be ceased, as to the outward force of governing the people to whom once it was law, though not as to the inward intent of introducing the Gospel, to which it was the preface; suppose we the society of the Church to be ordained, in the communion of those things which Christianity introduceth; I say, those rules, without which the unity of the Church cannot be maintained, whatsoever they be called, have no less the force of laws, than any that secular states either enact or enforce. Because, as he that once hath undertaken to take God for his God, under a promise of being a free Israelite, cannot, so long as that profession stands, make question of undergoing the rest of Moses's laws, howsoever troublesome they seem: so he that once hath embraced the communion of the Church, in hope of life everlasting, is by the same reason obliged to observe such rules, according to which the communion of the Church is in force and use.

[In what consists the communion of the Church.]

§ 6. But the communion of the Church not consisting in any thing of this world, only in the offices of God's service— for invisible communion in the faith and love of Christ, and all for Christ's sake as Christianity requires, is pre-supposed to the visible communion of the Church—no reason can require that they should be many, at least at the beginning. Our Lord Christ, having preached and declared unto His disciples that profession of Christianity into which He ap-

BOOK I. pointeth all Christians to be baptized, may well be said to have ordained the Sacrament of baptism for a law to all Christians; distinguishing the ceremony, by which the profession of Christianity is solemnized, from the profession itself of Christianity, which he that comes to be baptized must have taken upon him for a law afore. As little question there can be, that our Lord Christ at His last supper instituted, not His last supper—for what sense can there be in saying that our Lord at His last supper instituted His last supper?—but the Sacrament of His last supper, which is the Sacrament of the Eucharist, for a perpetual law to the Church.

[The laws of the Church.] § 7. Here then, we have for laws to the Church; first, the rule of faith, containing the profession, upon supposition whereof the corporation of the Church is founded: secondly, the Sacraments of baptism and of the Eucharist; thirdly, other offices of common prayers and praises of God, together with the hearing of His word—common to the Church with the synagogue—which God is to be served with: and therefore thus far I have proved that there is a society of one Catholic Church, founded by God upon the precept or the privilege of communicating in the service of God, by these offices of Christianity, equally charged upon all Christians; and consisting in the obligation of maintaining unity, in serving God 11
by the said offices.

§ 8. Supposing then, a visible authority settled in the persons of our Lord's Apostles and disciples, in behalf of the community of Christians; supposing this community erected into a society, visible body, or corporation of the Church; whatsoever can become questionable—not concerning mine and thine, which civil government pretendeth to decide, but —concerning communion in those offices which God is to be served with by Christians, is virtually and potentially already decided, by the right of doing such acts, as, being done, oblige the Church for whom they are done, which therefore are the laws of the Church. We see that the intent and meaning of Christianity is many times questionable in matters of that weight, or taken to be of that weight, that Christians are not to communicate with those who, pretending to be Christians, do believe otherwise[k].

[k] See chap. ix. sects. 20—29.

§ 9. Here we have none but the Apostles themselves to have recourse to. None but they have convinced Christendom to believe that their word is God's word. For though Moses and the prophets and our Lord Christ all spake by the same Spirit, inasmuch as they all intended a secret which was not to be published till the Apostles preached, the recourse we have to them is with intent to argue and discover by their writings the truth of that which may become questionable in the preaching of the Apostles. What then may appear to be determined by the act of the Apostles—as the writings of the Apostles are certainly their act—the declaration of the Church—proceeding no further than the means provided by God for that purpose will enable the Church to discern—that this doth appear, will have the force of a law, to oblige all Christians not to violate the communion of Christians, upon pretence that it doth not appear. So the reason of believing, and the evidence thereof, are both antecedent to the foundation of the Church: but the declaration of the Church, obliging those that are within it not to violate communion upon pretence of contrary evidence, that is the effect of that right and power which God giveth His Church.

[There must be a present, living, authority in the Church.]

§ 10. But there are other acts which the Church will be as often necessitated to do as it becomes questionable in the Church how any of those offices which God is served with by Christians is to be performed. What times, at what places, what persons are to assemble themselves for that service, as of itself it is not determined, so, were it never so particularly determined by the writings of the Apostles, yet so long as the world is changeable, and the condition of the Church, by that reason, not to be limited in that service by the same rule always, the society of the Church could not subsist without a power to determine it. The persons especially that communicate with the Church, if you will have the Church a society, must be endowed with several qualities, some of them enabling to communicate passively, that is, to join in the offices of God's service—for till our time I think it was never questioned among Christians, whether the same persons might minister and be ministered to in the offices of Christianity—then if some persons be to be set apart for that service, of

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necessity it may become questionable by what acts the sam
is lawfully done, according to the will of God declared by Hi
Apostles.

§ 11. Further, when it is determined who, when, wher
are the offices of Christianity and the assemblies of th
Church to be celebrated, the least circumstance of manne
and form, of solemnity and ceremony, though it make n
difference of faith, yet is able to create a cause of separatio
of communion, that shall be just on the one side. Is it an
great power that is demanded for the Church, by the origin
constitution thereof, when it is demanded that the Churc
have power to regulate itself in things of this consequence
Let me be bold to say, there is never a company i
London so contemptible, that can stand without having th
like, excepting the determination of matters of faith. An
therefore it is a small thing to demand that the Apostles, fo
their time, should be able to do it by power from God, so a
to be heard in Christ's stead; those that received power fro
them, according to the measure of that power which the
received, though they pretend not their acts to be our Lor
Christ's, as the Apostles, yet within the bounds of that offic
to which they are ordained, they have power from Go
determining their persons, though not justifying their acts.

§ 12. Suppose then, that our Lord Christ assume a cer
mony in use in the synagogue, at such time as He preached,
baptizing those that embraced Moses's law, being born of oth
nations, to signify and to solemnize the admission of the
that undertake Christianity, to the privileges of His ne
people; I suppose it is the act of our Lord that makes th
a law to His Church[1], though it was the power which Go
had provided to govern His ancient people, that made it
law to the synagogue. It is no more doubted among men
learning, that our Lord Christ at His last supper made us
of ceremonies practised among the Jews at their passover, i
the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the ou

[1] Illud potius animadvertam, si quid ex institutis Judaicis in Ecclesiam Christianam traductum est ceremoniale, vel jūdiciale et politicum, seu ad disciplinam sacram, vel ad politiam pertinens, id vim habere omnem ab Ecclesiæ potestate, quæ illud quidem ad suos usus libere derivavit; non a lege v teri, quippe cujus ceremonialia ac j dicialia præcepta per novæ legis pr mulgationem obligare desierint.—I ruti, Apparatus ad Jurisprudentia Ecclesiasticam, lib. i. diss. ii. § 5. to i. p. 10. Patav. 1793.

ward act whereof He appointed to consist in those ceremonies, whereas the inward intent thereof was not known afore; for whatsoever they knew of Christ, they could not thereby know that He would institute the Sacrament of His Body and Blood in those elements.

§ 13. In like manner it had been always a custom of superiors in the synagogue—according to that of the Apostle, Heb. vii. 7, "Without all contradiction, the less is blessed by the greater"—to bless and to pray for inferiors, with laying hands upon them, or lifting up hands over them. So did the priests, so did the prophets, so Isaac, Gen. xxvii. 4, 7, 12, 19, 21, 22; Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 9, 14, 17; Aaron, Levit. ix. 22; because a man cannot lay hands upon an assembly all at once. The priest's blessing therefore is called among the Jews "lifting up of hands," and many scrupulous observations there are among them in doing it, Num. vi. 23—27. So our Lord in doing cures—as Naaman thought Elisha would have done, 2 Kings v. 11.—in blessing His disciples, Luke xxiv. 50, and divers the like. If then the Apostles of our Lord frequented the same ceremony in solemnizing ordination—as praying for the grace of the Holy Ghost upon those that received it—and in other acts of public effect in the Church, it cannot be conceived that any thing but their own act brought it in force—though the practice of God's ancient people gave them a precedent for it—but it must be conceived that this argues a society of the Church, where such ceremonies are instituted to celebrate such acts with as were to provide for the maintenance of it.

The right of the Church to tithes and oblations is not grounded upon the law,

§ 14. Here I must not forget the law of tithes, and the title by which they are challenged to be due to the Church. For having made, that is, proved the Church a corporation, by the power of making laws within themselves, of creating governors, and of excommunicating; if it be demanded where is the common stock and revenue of it—seeing no corporation can subsist without means to maintain the attendance requisite to those things wherein it is to communicate—it will be necessary to shew that those who founded the Church have provided for this.

§ 15. Tithes are commonly claimed by the Levitical law; and it is not easy to give a reason why other laws of the

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Church should not come in force, or stand in force, by law of Moses, if it be once said that tithes are due to Church under the Gospel, because they were assigned Levitical priesthood by the law[m]. Truly it deserves co deration, whether they that insist upon the Levitical law, the claim of tithes to the Church, do not prejudice the ca which they pretend to maintain. For if they look into tenor of the law, it will easily appear that tithes of fruit the earth are assigned the priesthood by God, in consid tion of the land of promise, which He gave them; and t therefore the practice of the Jews at this very day is due legal, who pay no tithes of those fruits, because the ser for which they are due, is, by the law, prohibited out of land of promise.

[The law of tithes in the synagogue.]

§ 16. Besides, it is manifest that by the letter of the Deut. xiv. 23, xviii. 4, Num. xviii. 12, of all fruits of earth, only corn and oil and wine are titheable; of li creatures, the tithe goes not to the Levites—who paid priesthood the tenth of their tithes—but to the Altar, tha they are to be sacrificed to God. So that, by this means, priests and Levites themselves paid this tithe, as well as o Israelites, and that no more to the interest and advantag the priesthood, than the paschal lambs, which they also s

[m] "For my part, I know none that will join upon that issue, that 'tithes from the laity are due unto the clergy of these times, as they were, and in that right wherein they were due, from the clergy of the Jews, unto the Jewish clergy,' that is, from the Levites unto the priest? Levites, in the phrase and opinion of antiquity, were then, as the deacons amongst Christians are now. *Absque hoc*, Sir. The payment of tithes, for the minister's maintenance, succeedeth not the payment of Levi unto Aaron, but the payment of Judah unto Levi; and that also in time and order of payment, not of right original, and of due: which was first paid, and due unto Melchisedec, many hundred years before the commandment went out for Levi. . . . . God's service at this day is alike performed by the whole clergy in lump; by Archbishops, Bishops, archdeacons, deans, by collegiate ministers, by parochial rectors, and others subordinate in their several degrees and callings. And for this vice at the Altar in God's Ch their claim is that which was the with this difference, they from u we from them—for before Levi Aaron, Melchisedec was a priest Most High God—tithe from the of all increase that cometh in th God's blessing, and as we say, in name. . . . . Which law is older you would have it. Not that was given unto Israel in the deser that according to the dictate wl Abraham, the father of the fai and patriarch of all the sons o mise, gave tithes unto God's Melchisedec. Abraham had some rant, some tie, some direction, command to do it, for he did it duty, not of courtesy; and duty i but where precedent bond doth unto this or that performance."— tague's Diatribæ upon the first the late History of Tithes, ch pp. 399—402. London, 1621.

117 ficed; for tithe cattle went to the owners as the paschal lambs did, the law having provided only, that they should be holy to the Lord, Levit. xxvii. 32, that is, sacrificed to God, their blood sprinkled upon the altar, and their flesh eaten in Jerusalem. Which law, providing also that this tithe be only "of the herd or of the flock," that is, of bullock, sheep, or goat, that passeth under the rod, they that will derive the Church's claim of tithes from the Levitical law, must, by consequence, tie themselves to these terms; which would be not to abridge the claim, but to destroy it. For though many kinds beside these were titheable among the Jews, by virtue of the constitutions of the synagogue, yet that would not advantage the Church, which forsaking the synagogue for refusing Christianity, cannot avail itself of the authority of it. CHAP. XVI.

§ 17. And truly, he that would insist that the law is in force for the payment of tithes to the Church, will never be able to give a reason why it should not be in force for observing the sabbath, that is, the Saturday, for being circumcised, and keeping all the festivals and sacrifices and purifications of the ceremonial law, and much more the civil law of that people—as much contrary to the civil law of Christian people, as to Christianity—seeing that, whatsoever is contained in that law which is made void by Christianity, must be understood to be void, till it appear to be contained and imported in that act which introduceth and established Christianity instead of the law. though evidenced by it,

§ 18. Indeed, I must not say that the Levitical law is the only evidence that is alleged for the right of tithes in the Church; for every man knows that Abraham's paying tithes to Melchisedec, "the priest of the most high God," Gen. xiv. 20, and Jacob's paying tithes, or vowing to pay them, Gen. xxviii. 22. are alleged—as indeed they ought to be alleged—to shew that paying of tithes was in force under the law of nature, that is, in the time of the patriarchs, before the ceremonial law. In which regard, God saith that tithes are His, Levit. xxvii. 30, to wit, by a law introduced afore. and by the practice of the patriarchs.

§ 19. And the consequence hereof seems to be more effectual to the Church than that which is drawn from the Levitical law, in that consideration which the fathers of the

BOOK I. Church do press[n] with advantage enough against the Jews, that the patriarchs were the forerunners of Christians, and that Christianity is more ancient than Judaism, in regard that the same service of God in spirit and truth, by the inward obedience of the heart, was in being in the lives of the patriarchs, as the Gospel requires, before the scrupulous, and precise, and superstitious observation of bloody sacrifices, and smoke of fat and incense, and troublesome purifications of the outward man, and the rest of Moses's positive law was required. For if the law of nature, and the conversation of the patriarchs under it, is indeed the pattern of Christianity and of the life of Christians under the Gospel, expressed by deed, before we find it indented for by covenant; then certainly, that which ought to be outdone by the Church, is not abrogated by Christianity.

§ 20. But this argument being made, and allowed to be of force, he that therefore should say that the Church claimeth this right by virtue of that law whereby it was in force under the patriarchs, would be presently liable to peremptory instances of the difference of clean and unclean creatures[o], Gen. vii. 2; of raising up seed to a brother deceased, Gen. xxxviii. 11; of the polygamy of the patriarchs, and others, which, though then in force, under the Gospel hold not. Wherefore it is not to be said that the law of that time is the act whereby the Church claims, but a ground, whereupon the act whereby the Church claims was done. In like manner, he that should affirm this right due to the Church, by virtue of the Levitical law, would meet with those exceptions—peremptory as I suppose—that have been advanced. But when it hath been said and made good, that the Levitical law, supposing the Gospel ordained by God to succeed it, yields a sufficient ground to argue that a provision answerable thereunto was to be established in the Church, as the correspondence between the law and the Gospel, between the synagogue and the Church, requireth; I say, this being premised, there remains nothing in question, but how the establishing of it may be derived from the act of them that had the settling of the Church in their hands.

[n] See chap. xii. sect. 12.

[o] "If the Gospel void Moses's law, all it contains is void, till it appears to be common to Judaism with Christianity, and the act of God which introduces Christianity."—MSS.

§ 21. Considering then, that provision is made by the law
118 only for the maintenance of God's ceremonial service confined to Jerusalem—for a powerful evidence that the intent of that covenant expressed no more than the land of promise—that the promise of bringing the Gentiles to Christianity, and the real destruction of the law, with the place of this service, infers the service of God in all places, in spirit and truth, to succeed it under the Gospel, and by it; that no order for all nations that should be converted to resort to this service can be maintained, without a society or corporation of the Church, visibly telling them whither to resort for that purpose; upon these premises, it will be of necessary consequence, that the like provision, for the maintenance of that service of God which the Church professeth, be made, to that which had been made for the service of God at Jerusalem, during the time of the synagogue.

Evidence of the Apostles' order in the Scriptures.

§ 22. Now the maintenance of God's service in the Church —with the maintenance of the Church, subsisting for no other end than that service—consists in the maintenance of those persons that are to attend on God's service. Of which persons there are two sorts: the first is of those that attend either upon the government of the Church, or else upon the ministering of those offices which God is served with by His Church, unto the assemblies of His people: the second sort is of those, that to preserve this temporal life, being obliged to attend upon the employment of it, cannot spare themselves and their time to attend on God's service. It was therefore necessary that Christian people should contribute the first-fruits of their goods, in tithes and oblations to the Church, by which those that attended upon the public government of it, as well as upon ministering the offices of Christianity, should both maintain themselves, and be trusted to maintain the poor, that for the necessities of the world they might not neglect the offices of Christianity. And this necessity, necessarily imported in the correspondence between the law and the Gospel, between the synagogue and the Church, but evidenced by the practice of all ages of the Church, to be the effect of the first order given out and established in the Church by the Apostles.

§ 23. The first order that we find mentioned in the Acts

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of the Apostles to have been held in the primitive Church Jerusalem, mentioneth expressly only the provision for t poor. But it is in the first place to be remembered, that t Apostles had long afore told our Lord, "Behold, we ha left all things to follow Thee;" and if, as it is said the Acts iv. 35, "Distribution was made to every one as they h need;" if their oblations were laid at the Apostles' feet signify that they were put into their power to dispose of they should think fit; if the seven men whom they ordain to attend upon that office, Acts vi., were trusted under th and by them, then is it necessary to conceive that themsel were in the first place provided for by those oblations.

The Church of Jerusalem held not community of goods.

§ 24. It will presently be said, that at that time Christians imposed upon themselves a law to make all esta common, that all might live upon all that every one had: hath been granted to the anabaptists: denying neverthel that it was a law necessarily obliging all Christians, but order which they took up voluntarily, as being convin that it was for the advancement of Christianity at that ti And St. Basil[p], it is plain, supposeth that they all nounced their estates, as monks did afterwards; otherwise could not have inferred the duty of monks from this exam as in the beginning of his short rules he doth. Besides, have Grotius's conjecture[q], that those Christians took the rule of those Essenes which were married. For besi the Pharisees and Sadducees, whom the Lord in His Gos so deeply condemneth, there was a third sect of religi people among the Jews, called Essenes, whereof, though so

[p] Εἰ χρὴ ἔχειν τι ἴδιον ἐν ἀδελφότητι. Τοῦτο ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι περὶ τῶν πιστευσάντων μαρτυρίας, ἐν αἷς γέγραπται· καὶ οὐδείς τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι. ὁ οὖν λέγων ἴδιόν τι εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀλλότριον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας κατέστησε, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγάπης τοῦ διδάξαντος καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ τιθέναι ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων· οὐχ ὅτι γε τὰ ἐκτός. — Regul. brev. tract. Tractat. lxxxv. tom. ii. p. 446. ed. Ben.

[q] Vitæ fortunarumque communitas, quæ apud Essenos et primos Christianos fuit, postea a monachis instaurata est.—Votum pro Pace Ecclesiastica, *de Monachatu*, Grotii Opp., tom. iii. p. 672. Londini, 1679.

Essenorum cœtus et illos cælibe alios sine cælibatu, sublimius pr situm sectantes ante Christum fu qui negat, is Josephum et alios bræos sine ulla causa mendacii acc necesse est. Cur non eos itiden Pharisæos et Sadducæos, reprehe Christus? Nimirum quia erant. . . 'apti regno Dei, præordinati ad v æternam,' contemptu rerum hujus culi, paratissimi ad recipiendum E gelium, et ii unde maxima ex constitit illa Ecclesia Hierosolymi ipsorum mores imitata.—*Ib.*, in ani Riveti, *de Monachatu*, tom. iii. p. Londini, 1673.

lived continent, some in marriage, yet both, renouncing the property of their goods, contributed all to the maintenance of the community into which they betook themselves. And these, being no where reproved by our Lord, he conceiveth the Church of Jerusalem then consisted most of, and therefore their order received by the Church, as easily as introduced by the Apostles.

§ 25. But all this is vain[r], only that St. Basil's argument stands upon a consequence, the validity whereof must be dis-
119 puted in due place, that if bare Christians did voluntarily part with their goods in that estate, much more are those that take upon them the profession of monastical life, bound to do the same. For nothing can be more evident than this; that no man was bound by any rule, common to the whole body, to bring in his goods, but every man brought in voluntarily what his heart prompted him to part with, all being satisfied that they were to bring in what the maintenance of the Church, in that estate, should require. At least if we believe St. Peter telling Ananias, Acts v. 4, "Did it not remain thine own while so it remained? And being sold, was it not at thy disposing?" which could not have been said, had he been tied to dispose of it otherwise. And Acts v. 33—37, how it is said that "they had all things common," Acts ii. 44. is thus expounded; "That there was great grace upon the believers, for neither did any of them want, because, as many of them as had houses and lands sold them, and brought the prices of the things they had sold, and laid them at the Apostles' feet." Neither could it have been any particular commendation for Barnabas, which for his particular commendation follows there, that he, having land, did the like with it.

§ 26. Therefore neither did they profess the communion of monks, who were married, nor of Essenes, who were tied to no more than other Christians, to contribute of their estate whatsoever the maintenance of the Church should require, but did contribute whole estates, or parts of estates, as God moved them to do that which they were not bound in that measure to do. Nor was it any thing but not judging[s] of

[r] "Of all this nothing is effectual but that of St. Basil."—MSS.

[s] "Not consulting with the original and general course which the Church took to maintain itself, and understanding and expounding the proceeding near the Apostles according to it."—MSS.

BOOK I. that primitive estate of Christianity by that which was afterwards practised, though in an inferior degree, that moved men to grant the anabaptists more than is true, that they were under the law of community of goods.

§ 27. But I will not here repeat those texts of Scripture which I have produced, nor the arguments which I have made, for the true sense of them and the consequences drawn, in the Right of the Church, p. 200—220[t], which I suppose to remain in force till somebody will shew me that they are not. Only I will particularly stand upon it, that there is no answer for St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 3, 8, 9, 16, 17, where the widows that are so indeed are to be honoured with a pension: the presbyters that rule well, especially if they labour in the word and doctrine, with a double one. Is Timothy commanded to see this done, and no stock provided out of which he might do it? Why then doth he not ask the question, where is the money to do it with? "If any Christian man or woman have widows, of their near kindred, let them maintain them, and let not the Church be charged; for they that take not care for their own, have denied the faith, and are worse than infidels." And how shall the Church be charged, if it have no stock, nor none bound to have.

§ 28. Therefore I suppose I have given a good reason[u], that St. Peter, when he saith, *μὴ κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων*, 1 Pet. v. 3, forbids the presbyters to domineer over the inferior clergy, whose pensions were to come by their allowance. For those pensions, being allotted to their several offices, are most properly called *κλῆρος*. And therefore, in Clemens Alexandrinus's relation of St. John, reported by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iii. 23[x], *κλῆρον ἕνα τινὰ κληρῶσαι*, is, "to make some one of the clergy." And Cornelius of Novatianus, in the same Eusebius, vi. 43[y], *ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρον τινὰ γενέσθαι*; "Because it was not lawful for him that had been baptized in bed, for fear"—of suffering for his Christianity, which to avoid, baptism was deferred till danger of death—"to come to any place in the clergy." And I may well take up again here, that

[t] Chap. iv. sectt. 38—60.
[u] Right of the Church, chap. iii. sect. 40.
[x] See Prim. Govern., chap. iv. sect. 13.
[y] See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 28.

which I alleged afore[z] of St. John, commending Gaius for entertaining those brethren whom Diotrephes would not suffer the Church to entertain: and of St. Paul, commanding Titus to send away Zenas and Apollos with care that they wanted nothing. For the same question will be fit to be asked, where they should have money to do it, did not St. Paul or St. John suppose a stock of the Church provided to do it with.

The original practice of the Church.

§ 29. If this kind of evidence had been used, it would have been easy to have derived the title of the Church to tithes in the nature of first-fruits and oblations, whereof they are but a kind, from the time and practice and constitution of the Apostles, which the History of Tithes[a] finds no evidence for till
120 four hundred years after Christ: but it would have spoiled the design of the work, if, as it is commonly thought, the design was, to destroy all title of divine right which the Church hath to that which is once consecrated to it.

§ 30. I must touch some testimonies here, because the matter is so questionable. That of Basil shall clear me, in the first place, that I bring in no new interpretation of the proceedings of the primitive Christians at Jerusalem; he, in *Serm. de Instit. Monachorum*[b], argueth against him that, having made the profession of a monk, reserves to himself any thing, either of his own will or of his worldly good, from the example of Ananias and Sapphira, who, having consecrated their land to God, by professing to give the price of it to the Church, detained part of the price, and, by detaining it, drew upon themselves that judgment of God which we know.

[z] Chap. x. sect. 31.

[a] "Since our Saviour, the time being about 1600 years, it will fall aptly enough so to divide that number quadripartitely, that we may discover the known use, opinion, and constitutions of every 400 years, touching the duty or payment of tenths, the difference or latitude of twenty years or some such number, either of increase or want—as occasion shall serve—being allowed. And the English law and use, because therein we shall be most particular—being referred to in the last seven chapters. Till towards the end of the first 400, no payment of them can be proved to have been in use. Some opinion is of their being due, and constitutions also, but such as are of no credit."—Selden, Hist. of Tithes, chap. iv. § 1. p. 35. London, 1618.

[b] Ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ Ἀνανίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπαγγείλασθαι τῷ Θεῷ τὴν κτῆσιν . . . . . οὐκοῦν πρὸ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου ἔξεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ κατὰ τὸ συγκεχωρημένον καὶ ἔννομον, εἰς ἀκολουθίαν βίου ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοῦναι τῇ συζυγίᾳ τοῦ γάμου· προληφθέντα δὲ διὰ τῆς οἰκείας ὁμολογίας, φυλάσσειν προσήκει ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ, ...

Ἀποθήκη δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔστω μία κοινὴ, καὶ μηδὲν ἴδιον ἑκάστῳ ὀνομαζέσθω· μὴ ἱμάτιον, μὴ ὑπόδημα, μὴ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν τοῦ σώματος.—Serm. Ascet., tom. ii. pp. 319—322. ed. Ben.

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§ 31. So also concerning the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi 20—22, I will allege the passage of St. Ambrose[c], or whosoeve wrote the Commentary under his name, to shew that I do n new thing, when I argue that they suppose the right of th Church in first-fruits and oblations. *Hos notat, qui sic in eccle siam conveniebant, ut munera sua offerentes advenientibus pres byteris, quia adhuc rectores Ecclesiis non omnibus locis fueran constituti, totum sibi qui obtulerant, vindicarent, schismatis causa Dissensiones enim inter eos pseudo-apostoli seminaverant, ita u oblationes suas zelarentur, cum una atque eadem prece omnium oblationes benedicerentur, ut ii, qui, ut assolet fieri, non obtule rant, aut, unde offerrent non habebant, pudore correpti confun derentur, non sumentes partem. Et tam cito illud agebant, u supervenientes non invenirent quod ederent. Ideoque, si sic, in quit, convenitis, ut unusquisque suum sumat, domi hæc agenda, non in ecclesia, ubi unitatis et mysterii causa convenitur, non dissensionis et ventris. Munus enim oblatum totius populi fit, quia in uno pane omnes significantur, per id enim quod unum sumus, de uno pane omnes nos sumere oportet.* "He sets a mark upon those, who so assembled in the church that presenting their oblations to the priests that came first, governors not being yet placed in all Churches, he that offered took all for himself, in regard of schism. For the false apostles had sowed dissensions among them, so that, being zealous of their own oblations, whereas the oblations of all were blessed with one and the same prayer, they who, as it is ordinary, had not offered, or had not whereof to offer, were seized with shame and confounded, not getting any share. 'Therefore, if so ye meet, as every one to take his own, these things,' saith he, 'are to be done at home, not in the church:' where the meeting is not for dissensions and belly cheer, but for unity's and the mystery's sake. For the gift that is offered becomes all the people's, because by one bread all are signified. For, inasmuch as we are all one, we are all to take of the same bread."

[The dissensions at Corinth.]

§ 32. Here you have both the order of their feasts of love, and the disorder which the Apostle corrects. The oblations of all the congregation made an entertainment for all, rich and poor. They were all blessed at once, by some of the

[c] Tom. ii. coll. 148, 149. ed. Ben.

priests; this blessing including in it the consecration of the Eucharist. For he saith that they assembled for the mystery's sake, that is, for the Sacrament, alleging St. Paul's words spoken of the Eucharist; that all are to take of the same bread, because all are one. Hereby they became the Church's goods, to entertain the body of it. And they that challenged their oblations for their own, by complying with the priests who consecrated them, did it out of zeal to their own faction, that they who were not of it might not partake of their oblations, as those whom they would not have to be of the Church.

§ 33. What is then the difference between those of Jerusalem and these? There men laid down their estates at the Apostles' feet, to maintain this communion daily through the year, and continually: as the Scriptures quoted out of the Acts do evidence that it was practised for the service of God, in the offices proper to Christianity; whereupon it is called "the daily ministration," Acts vi. 1. Here, at Corinth, the first-fruits of their goods, which they offered from time to time, as the maintenance of their assemblies and communion required, served the turn. For when Christianity was propagated, it was not possible that all Christians should give that daily attendance upon the service of God for which those of Jerusalem are commended in the Acts. Therefore St. Chrysostom, in 1 *ad Cor.*, *Hom.* xxvii[d]., excellently reasons,
121 that, as at Corinth, they did not contribute their estates, as at Jerusalem; so the reason was, because this communion was not continual, but upon set days; on which, after the communion of the Eucharist, the service being done, they refreshed themselves altogether with a common entertainment. I confess, he saith, that those at Jerusalem had all things

[d] Ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τοῦ πάροντος ἐγκλήματος πρότερον τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμῖν εὐμαθέστερος πάλιν ἔσται ὁ λόγος. τίς οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη; καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τρισχιλίων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πιστευσάντων κοινῇ πάντες ἐστιῶντο, καὶ κοινὰ πάντα ἐκέκτηντο, οὕτω καὶ τότε ὅτε ταῦτα ἔγραψεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν μετὰ ἀκριβείας· ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης ἀναπομείνασα, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα κατέβη. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ σπένητας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους, τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν οὐ κατετίθεντο πάντα εἰς μέσον, κοινὰς δὲ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τραπέζας ἐν ἡμέραις νενομισμέναις, ὡς εἰκὸς, καὶ τῆς συνάξεως ἀπαρτισθείσης μετὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν ἐπὶ κοινὴν πάντες ἦσαν εὐωχίαν, τῶν μὲν πλουτούντων φερόντων τὰ ἐδέσματα, τῶν δὲ πενομένων καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλουμένων καὶ κοινῇ πάντων ἑστιωμένων. ἀλλ' ὕστερον καὶ τοῦτο διεφθάρη τὸ ἔθος. —Tom. iii. pp. 416, 417. ed. Savil.

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§ 34. In the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, you may see the disorder which he labours to compose grew about who should consecrate the Eucharist, and, by consequence, about disposing of the people's oblations, p. 53, 54[e]. But Irenæus alone is enough to serve my turn. His words are these; iv. 32[f]: *Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est, accepit, et gratias egit, dicens, 'Hoc est meum corpus.' Et calicem similiter, qui est ex ea creatura secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est. Et Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo, offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum in Novo Testamento.* "And our Lord, counselling His disciples to offer unto God first-fruits out of His creatures, not as if He wanted, but that they might neither be fruitless nor thankless, He took that bread which was made of His creature, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is My Body.' Likewise He acknowledged the cup, consisting of the creature which we use, to be His blood. Teaching the new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church receiving of the Apostles, through all the world, offereth to Him that feedeth us the first-fruits of His own gifts in the New Testament." So the precept of oblations goes along with the precept of celebrating the Eucharist, as provided for the maintenance of it.

§ 35. Again, iv. 34[g]. *Et propter hoc, illi quidem decimas suorum habebant consecratas, qui autem perceperunt libertatem, omnia quæ sunt ipsorum ad dominicos decernunt usus, hilariter et libere dantes ea, non quæ sunt minora, utpote majorum spem habentes; vidua illa et paupere hic totum victum suum mittente in gazophylacium Dei.* "And therefore"—that there might be a difference between the oblations of slaves, and of those

[e] See Prim. Govern., chap. vi. sects. 3, 4.

[f] Cap. xvii. § 5. p. 249. ed. Ben.

[g] Cap. xviii. § 2. p. 250. ed. Ben.

that are free—"they," the Jews, "had the tithes of their goods consecrated," by the law, "but those who have received freedom, do themselves order all their goods to the Lord's use," as those at Jerusalem did, "cheerfully and freely; not giving less, as having greater hopes; that poor widow throwing into the treasury of God her whole living."

§ 36. Again; *Quoniam igitur cum simplicitate Ecclesia offert, juste munus ejus purum sacrificium apud Deum deputatum est. Quemadmodum et Paulus Philippensibus ait; Repletus sum, acceptis ab Epaphrodito quæ a vobis missa sunt, odorem suavitatis, hostiam acceptabilem, placentem Deo. Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere, et in omnibus gratos inveniri fabricatori Deo, in sententia pura, et fide sine hypocrisi, in spe firma, in dilectione ferventi, primitias earum, quæ sunt ejus, creaturarum offerentes.* "Therefore, because the Church offereth with simplicity, justly is her oblation counted a pure sacrifice: as Paul saith to the Philippians, 'I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which you sent, a sweet smell, an acceptable sacrifice, pleasing to God.' For it behoveth us, making oblations, to be found in all things thankful to God that framed us; offering with pure minds, and faith unfeigned, with firm hope and fervent love, the first-fruits of those creatures which we have." You see he qualifieth that which they sent St. Paul no otherwise than the oblations out of which the Eucharist is consecrated, but chargeth the duty peremptorily upon all Christians, which evidently presupposeth that it was in force through the whole Church: for he declareth that they did do that, which he moveth them cheerfully and freely to do; making the freedom of Christians the reason why the Gospel declareth not what is God's, as the law did, and so tying them to more[h].

[The history of Marcion

§ 37. Tertullian in the place afore quoted[i], *de Præscript.* cap. xxx.[k], saith that Marcion the heretic, when he was ad-

[h] "If the Jews that were slaves were tied to tithes, Christians that are free give all. That is Irenæus's argument." —MSS.

[i] Chap. ix. sect. 28.

[k] Ubi tunc Marcion . . . . . ubi tunc Valentinus Platonicæ sectator? nam constat illos, neque adeo olim fuisse, Antonini fere principatu, et in Catholicam doctrinam credidisse apud Ecclesiam Romanensem, donec sub Episcopatu Eleutheri benedicti, ob inquietam semper eorum curiositatem qua fratres quoque vitiabant, semel et iterum ejecti, Marcion quidem cum ducentis sestertiis suis quæ Ecclesiæ intulerat, novissime in perpetuum discidium relegati, venena doctrinarum suarum disseminaverunt.—P. 336. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

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proves the existence of an ecclesiastical treasury.]

mitted into the Church—out of which he was excluded afterwards—brought in with him *ducenta sestertia:* and, *adversus Marc.* iv. 4[1]: *Adeo antiquius Marcione est, quod est secundum* 122 *nos, ut et ipse illi Marcion aliquando crediderit, cum et pecuniam in primo calore fidei Catholicæ Ecclesiæ contulit, projectam mox cum ipso, posteaquam in hæresim suam a nostra veritate descivit.* "So is that" Gospel of St. Luke "which we use the more ancient, that Marcion himself sometimes believed it; when, in the first heat of the Catholic faith, he contributed money also to the Church, which was straight cast out with him, when he fell off to his own heresy from our truth."

§ 38. How could the money that Marcion had brought into the Church with him be cast out with him afterwards, but because he offered it to the treasury of the Church, and because, being there, it was with himself disowned by the Church; which never would admit any offering from any body that was not admitted to communion with the Church? For how many ancient canons of the Church are there, in which it is forbidden to receive the oblations of such and such, to signify that they are not admitted to communion with the Church? The testimonies of Tertullian[m], Origen[n], and St. Cyprian[o], I leave them that please to peruse in the History of

[1] P. 699. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[m] . . . . . neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat. Etiam si quod arcæ genus est, non de ordinaria summa quasi redemptæ religionis congregatur: modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit. Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert, Hæc quasi deposita prelatis sunt.—Tertullian. Apolog., cap. xxxix. p. 68. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[n] Decet enim, et utile est etiam sacerdotibus Evangelii offerri primitias. Ita enim et Dominus disposuit, ut qui Evangelium annunciant, de Evangelio vivant, et qui altari deserviunt, de altari participent. . . . . Et adhuc ut amplius hæc observanda etiam secundum literam ipsius Dei vocibus doceantur, addemus ad hæc. Dominus dicit in Evangeliis: 'Væ vobis scribæ et Pharisæi hypocritæ qui decimatis mentham &c. . . . . Vide ergo diligentius quomodo sermo Domini vult fieri quidem omnimode quæ majora sunt legis, non tamen omitti et hæc quæ secundum literam designantur. Quod si dicas, quia hæc ad Pharisæos dicebat, non ad discipulos, audi iterum ipsum dicentem ad discipulos, 'Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Pharisæorum et scribarum,' &c. Quod ergo vult fieri a Pharisæis, multo magis et majore cum abundantia vult a discipulis impleri. . . . Quomodo ergo abundat justitia nostra plusquam scribarum et Pharisæorum, si illi de fructibus terræ suæ gustare non audent, priusquam primitias sacerdotibus offerant, et Levitis decimas separent: et ego nihil horum faciens fructibus terræ ita abutar, ut sacerdos nesciat, Levites ignoret, divinum altare non sentiat? . . . . . Hæc diximus asserentes mandatum de primitiis frugum, vel pecorum, debere etiam secundum literam stare.—Origen. in Num., Hom. xi. § 2. pp. 305, 306. ed. Ben.

[o] Quod totum fiebat de auctoritate et dispositione divina, ut qui operationibus divinis insistebant, in nulla re avocarentur, nec cogitare aut agere sæcularia cogerentur. Quæ nunc ratio et forma in clero tenetur, ut ou[i] : Ecclesia Domini ordinatione

Tithes, chap. iv., contenting myself by these few to demonstrate upon what ground, and with what intent and conscience Christians from the beginning tendered their oblations at the celebrating of the Eucharist.

§ 39. But it will as easily appear that the Church was owner of goods and possessions which Christians did contribute to the maintenance thereof, even when it was subject to be persecuted, until persecution was proclaimed; for then, it cannot be doubted, that the Church's goods were seized into the emperors' coffers. And what evidence more any man can demand for the corporation of the Church, which idolaters acknowledged as long as they tolerated Christianity, I understand not.

[Evidence for it in the history of St. Athanasius.]

§ 40. But there can be nothing so eminent as the charge laid to St. Athanasius in the council of Tyrus[p], and ever after wheresoever his case was questioned, that, going to visit after the council of Nicæa, and to put the acts of it in execution in the *Μαρεώτης*—which was a shire of Egypt next to Alexandria, always part of that diocese—and coming with a guard to the cell of one Ischyras, pretending to be a priest among the Meletians—whom the council had commanded to be subject to Athanasius, and the rest of the Catholic Bishops, upon such terms as I have remembered elsewhere[q]—and his cell a church, it fell out that there was a glass broken, which they pretended to be a chalice. For it can no ways be imagined that this case should trouble the whole Church, as it did so long as it remained questionable whether Athanasius was regularly removed or not, had not all the Church presupposed that churches, and Altars, and chalices, consecrated to God, are the Church's goods, and that the irreverence which might be shewed them, might charge upon one

promoventur, in nullo ab administratione divina avocentur, nec molestiis et negotiis sæcularibus alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum tanquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte cœlestibus rebus et spiritalibus serviant.—S. Cyprian, ep. lxvi. p. 114. ed. Ben.

[p] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σφοδρότερον βιασθεὶς [Ἀθανάσιος], ἦκεν εἰς Τύρον· ἔνθα δὴ συνελθόντες πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἕω ἐπισκόπων, ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τὰς εὐθύνας κατηγορουμένων· κατηγόρουν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μέρους Ἰωάννου, Καλλίνικος ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Ἰσχυρίων τις, ὅτι μυστικὸν ποτήριον συνέτριψε, καὶ ἐπισκοπικὸν καθεῖλε θρόνον . . . ὁδὲ λογισάμενος οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτῷ διατρίβειν ἐν Τύρῳ, οὐτὲ ἀσφαλὲς δικάσασθαι πρὸς πλῆθος κατηγόρων παρὰ δικασταῖς ἐχθροῖς, φεύγει εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν· καταδικάζουσι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐρήμην ἡ σύνοδος, καὶ καθαιροῦσι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ ψηφίζονται αὐτὸν μήκετι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν οἰκεῖν.—Sozomen. Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. cap. xxv. pp. 479, 481. ed. Vales.

[q] Chap. x. sect. 41.

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of Athanasius's rank, a presumption of so much irreverence to Christianity, as should render him unworthy of it. Therefore Athanasius[r], in his Apology, never allegeth any thing to the contrary, but many things to evidence that there was neither church, nor Altar, nor chalice there.

§ 41. The order of the emperor Aurelian[s] given for the execution of the sentence of the Christian synod at Antiochia against Paulus Samosatenus, is express and peremptory to the purpose. How can the sovereign acknowledge the house of the Church—which is, in our language, the Bishop's palace, at Antiochia—but he must be understood to acknowledge that which the Christians had disposed of to the Church to be done by virtue of their law, which he, for that time, conniving at Christianity, alloweth to be the Church's. The good emperor Constantine the great, in restoring to the Church the goods and possessions which had been ravished from it in the persecution under Diocletian, and should then be found in being—as you may see by Eusebius, *de Vita Constantini*, ii. 36—40; *Eccles. Hist.* x. 5[t].—intendeth not hereby to erect the Church into a corporation, by a secular capacity of possessing lands or goods without interruption of law; but professing to restore that which was the Church's before, acknowledges, as a Christian, that right which Christians acknowledge, of holding land and goods to be in the Church. For when we read afore, in any records of the Church where the persecution of Diocletian is mentioned—as in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* viii. 2[u], that churches and

[r] Καὶ ταῦτα φαμὲν οὐχ ὅτι κἂν σχισματικῶν ποτήριον κέκλασται, παρὰ Μακαρίου, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲν ἦν ὅλως ἐκεῖ· πῶς γὰρ; ὅπου μήτε τόπος κυριακῆς, μήτε τις ἐκεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ μήτε ὁ καιρὸς μυστηρίων ἦν· οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ πολυθρύλλητος Ἰσχύρας, ὁ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χειροτονηθεὶς, καὶ ὅτε τοὺς ὑπὸ Μελετίου κατασταθέντας πρεσβυτέρους Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐδέχετο· μηδὲ ἐκείνοις συναριθμηθεὶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐκεῖθεν κατεστάθη.—Ep. Synod. Alexandr. § 11. S. Athan. Apol. contr. Arian. p. 134. ed. Ben.

[s] Chap. x. sect. 22.

[t] Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν χριστιανῶν δογματιζόμεν, ἵνα τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν εἰς οὓς τὸ πρότερον συνέρχεσθαι ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, περὶ ὧν καὶ τοῖς πρότερον δοθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν γράμμασι, τύπος ἕτερος ἦν ὡρισμένος τῷ προτέρῳ χρόνῳ· ἵν' εἴ τινες ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ταμείου τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ παρά τινος ἑτέρου φαίνοιντο ἠγορακότες τούτους, τοῖς αὐτοῖς χριστιανοῖς ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀπαιτήσεως τῆς τιμῆς ὑπερτεθείσης, δίχα πάσης ἀμελείας καὶ ἀμφιβολίας ἀποκαταστήσωσι . . . . ἅτινα πάντα τῷ σωματίῳ τῶν χριστιανῶν παρ' αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς ἄνευ τινὸς παρολκῆς παραδίδοσθαι δεήσει.—Histor. Eccles., p. 389. ed. Vales.

[u] Συντετέλεσται δῆτα καθ' ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὁπηνίκα τῶν μὲν προσευκτηρίων τοὺς οἴκους ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις καταῤῥιπτουμένους, τὰς δὲ ἐνθέους καὶ ἱερὰς γραφὰς κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς πυρὶ παραδιδομένας αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς.—P. 293. ed. Vales.

oratories were pulled down, and the books of the Scriptures
123 burned, were not these churches and oratories and books the common goods of the Church, dedicated to the service of God, but given the Church for the purpose of it? When Constantine wrote that famous letter to Eusebius[x], to provide fifty copies of the Bible, was it not to furnish the churches which he had erected at Constantinople?

§ 42. There is nothing more ancient in the records of the Church than the mention of titles and cemeteries belonging to the Church at Rome; nor any thing more effectual to convince this intent than the name and condition of the same. The manner was, at Rome[y], to set marks upon escheats and confiscations, and all other goods belonging to the exchequer, whether moveable or immoveable, intimating that the exchequer claimed them, and that no man was to meddle with that title, for so it was called. And truly the same was the reason why they set a bodily mark upon soldiers, to signify them to be the emperor's men, as private men did on their goods, which occasioned the allegory of the character of baptism, the reason whereof St. Augustine[z] by that comparison declares. When therefore a piece of ground or a house was given the Church to exercise their assemblies in,

[x] ..... τοιγὰρ τοι δέδεξο προθύμοτατα τὸ δόξαν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ προαιρέσει. πρέπον γὰρ κατεφάνη, τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει, ὅπως ἂν πεντήκοντα σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις ἐγκατασκεύοις, εὐαναγνωστά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων, καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμένων, γραφῆναι κελεύσειας· τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, ὧν μάλιστα τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις. ἀπεστάλη δὲ γράμματα . . . πρὸς τὸν τῆς διοικήσεως καθολικόν.—De vita Constant., lib. iv. cap. xxxvi. pp. 543, 544. ed. Vales.

[y] Sed unde acciderit, ut domus fidelium in sacrum usum conversæ, quas nos Ecclesias dicimus, a majoribus tituli dicerentur, paucis aperiendum. A rebus fiscalibus videtur accepta esse nomenclatura: Tituli namque impositione, rem aliquam sibi Fiscus solitus erat vindicare; ut cum imperator: L. *Si quando, aut alicujus.* Cod. *de bon. vacant.* lib. x. 'Tituli vero quorum adjectione prædia nostris sunt consecranda substantiis, nonnisi publica testificatione proponatur.' Fuisse hujusmodi titulos vela quædam, quæ regiam repræsentarent potestatem, vel imaginibus imperatorum, vel nominis ipsorum inscriptione insignita multa sunt quæ poterunt demonstrare.—Card. Baron. Annal. Eccles., ad ann. 112. num. v., vide Frances de Urrutigoyti, de Eccles. Cathedr., cap. xv. num. 60. et seqq. p. 150. Venet. 1698.

[z] Præsertim quoniam si apud fugitivos servos et prædones fecunditate multiplicentur, plus habet juris quod in eis Dominicus caracter agnoscitur, qui in eis quos suscipimus, nec tamen rebaptizamus, minime violatur? Sic enim error corrigendus est ovis, ut non in ea corrumpatur signaculum Redemtoris. Neque enim si quisquam regio charactere a signato desertore signetur, et accipiant indulgentiam, atque ille redeat ad militiam, ille autem esse in militia, in qua nondum erat, incipiat, in aliquo eorum caracter ille rescinditur, ac non potius in ambobus agnoscitur, et honore debito quoniam regius est, approbatur.—S. August., ep. clxxxv. ad Bonifacium, § 23. tom. ii. col. 653. ed. Ben.

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the name of title evidences that a mark was set upon it—whether a cross, as cardinal Baronius[a] would have it, whether visible to the world, or only to those of the Church, I dispute not now—to distinguish the Church's goods from the goods of private persons. And therefore what can be more clear than that the Church had goods? In the life of Alexander Severus[b], you have a question about a certain place, challenged on one side by the Christians, on the other by the taverners, *popinarii*—whom, with the like, he had made corporations[c], as the same life relateth—decreed by him in favour of the Christians.

§ 43. It will perhaps be said that it is enough to justify those that have seized the goods of the Church[d], that the tenth part, and those kinds of which it is to be paid, are not determined by God's law. For if it be once granted that the

[a] Fuisse autem apud Christianos titulum, quo domus aliqua cultui divino manciparetur, vexillum crucis, ex iis possumus intelligere, quæ Theodosius imperator edicto præcepit, leg. 25. *de Paganis.* Cod. Theod. ut delubra Gentilium Christianæ religionis cultui manciparentur, 'collocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi.' Eaque ratione quod titulo crucis censerentur res dicatæ esse religioni, Leo imperator, ne signum crucis inferretur in loca publica, quæ gratia popularis voluptatis essent erecta, lege vetuit.—Annal. Eccles., ad ann. 112. num. vi.

[b] Quum Christiani quendam locum qui publicus fuerat occupassent, contra popinarii dicerent, sibi eum deberi, rescripsit, melius esse ut quomodocunque illic Deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur.—Hist. August. Scriptores VI. tom. i. p. 1003. Lugd. Bat. 1671.

[c] Corpora omnium constituit vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum, et omnino omnium artium; hisque ex sese defensores dedit, et jussit quid ad quos judices pertineret.—*Ib.*, tom. i. pp. 937, 938. Lugd. Batav. 1671.

[d] "Obs. Then may it come to pass that all the land in a nation may be consecrate to the Church. In such case may not the king have power to take some of it away, and for the defence of the nation employ it otherwise? R. Grant the state power to limit consecrations not made for the preventing this mischief, and power to constrain the Church to use them to the intent for which they are made. Grant the Church to have no property in Church goods, but only a right of maintaining itself according to the frame of life which the clergy professeth. Grant all consecrated goods to belong originally to the mother Church in one mass, which hath since been appropriated to parish Churches, by consent of the Bishop and mother Church abating their original interest. Grant monks much more to have no property in their endowments further than such maintenance as their rule requires, whatsoever their endowment comes to more than this maintenance, falls to the disposing of the mother Church for them, the clergy, and the poor of the diocese, and the state is able to constrain them so to use it; and suppose the state have not used their right in restraining consecrations, can it without violating the public faith—holding forth protection to that which the law alloweth—make them its own goods? Especially seeing the fruits of immoveables must remain chiefly in the hands of them who hold them, and use them, and the duty of public aids always rest upon them. If God hath made the Church capable of being endowed, hath He not made all states incapable of taking away the endowment of it? Is not that out of man's reach which God makes the Church capable to receive, and have for His use."—MSS.

act of man is requisite to design what he will please to endow the Church with; that the act of sovereign power is requisite to make such or such, or all kinds, titheable through each state, it will be in the sovereign power either to recall its own act, or to limit or void the acts of particular persons. To this my answer shall be, that all this dispute proceeds upon a supposition that the men are Christians whom it addresseth.

[That the Church is a corporation is part of the Christian faith.]

§ 44. Seeing then it is a part of Christianity to acknowledge the Church a corporation founded by God, and so, capable of rights as well as of goods; whatsoever by any man's voluntary act it stands endowed with, as the Church of England is with all tithes, some man may have force, no man can have right, to take from it. But I have shewed further[e], that all Christians, whether public or private persons, are bound to endow the Church with the first-fruits of their goods; of which first-fruits, the tenth hath been the part most eminently limited, under the laws of nature, Moses, and Christ. Therefore the persons whereof a commonwealth consisteth may be Christians, in giving their goods, as the necessity of the Church requires, but the commonwealth itself cannot be Christian, but by securing such Christian acts from violence. Which if it be true, so far must any state be from seizing such goods, that the first thought should be to restore the breach made upon Christianity by such seizures.

§ 45. For the intent of consecrating first-fruits and oblations—whether presently to be spent, or to make a standing stock—to the maintenance of one communion and corporation of the Church, is evidenced by the same means as our common Christianity; that is, by the Scriptures, expounded by the original practice of Christians. And therefore, supposing Christian states were mistaken in accepting the obligation of tithes as from the Levitical law, they were not mistaken either in their duty to endow the Church, or in limiting the tithe for the discharge of it; supposing it necessary that all being become Christians, the rate should be limited, and that the tenth, whether alone or with other consecrations, might serve the turn. And therefore there can be no difference between the Church's goods, that is God's, and private

[e] Sect. 27. above.

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§ 46. For consider, that there is neither kingdom nor state to be named before the reformation, that ever undertook to maintain that Christianity which it professed, wherein there hath not been a course taken to settle goods consecrated to God upon His Church, for the maintenance of God's service, that it might not lie at the casualty of Christians behaving themselves as Christians should do, whether the service of God should be maintained or not. For though while no man was a Christian but he that had resolved to undergo persecution to death for the profession of Christianity, it was not to be doubted that he who had given himself up to the Church, would not stick at giving up his goods, so far as the necessities thereof should require; yet when all the world was come into the Church—whether for love of God, or of the world that favoured the Church—what disorder might have ensued had not a standing provision been made, it is obvious to common reason to imagine; or rather, what disorder did ensue for want of it, it is evident by the provisions of the civil law of all Christian kingdoms and states, that proved requisite to prevent it for the future.

§ 47. Whether[f] or no the tenth part were due by virtue of the Levitical law, seeing it appeareth by that which hath been said, that from the beginning of Christianity a stock of maintenance was due to the Church out of the first-fruits of Christian goods, offered and dedicated to God, whereof tithes were, from the law of nature before Moses, one kind; they might be bad divines in deriving the Church's title from the Levitical law, who had not been good Christians, had they not discharged themselves to it; but they can be neither good divines nor good Christians that discharge the Church of the rights so purchased to it. Always this being the course of maintaining the Church from the beginning, the evidence for the corporation of the Church is the same with the evidence for our common Christianity; to wit, the Scriptures, with the consent of all Christians to limit the meaning of it.

[f] "We grant the tithes or not."—MSS.

§ 48. And therefore as every Church is a body by itself, and all Churches notwithstanding bound to make one body, by visible communion one with another, which body is the Catholic Church; so is this common stock of the Church provided for the maintenance[g], first of that Church whose it is, then of the whole Church, by defraying the charge of those correspondences whereby the unity thereof is entertained. In the place afore quoted[h] out of my book of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, you shall find those Scriptures alleged which speak of the collections of other Churches for the maintenance of the Church of Jerusalem, the then mother Church of all Churches. And in this book afore, chap. x., you have evidence that the correspondence between all Churches, by which the communion of all was to be maintained, was instituted and set on foot by the Apostles. You have therefore evidence that such a stock was requisite, even in regard of correspondence between several Churches, when you see upon what business it was spent.

§ 49. Whether this correspondence were exercised in holding of councils, or by daily intercourse and intelligence, the case was always the same as at the council at Ariminum, where the fathers complained[i] that they were detained against their will, as to the great prejudice of their Churches for want of their residence, so to the great charge of them who were to maintain their representatives there. And if my memory fail not, the British Bishops particularly, in Sulpitius Severus[k], [complained] that their Churches were not able to maintain them there at the charge which was requisite. For

[g] Barrow sums up the argument thus, and then replies as follows:—"Another argument is grounded on the relief which one Church did yield to another, which supposeth all Churches under one government, imposing such a tribute."

"This is a strange fetch; as if all who were under obligation to relieve one another in need, were to be under one government, then all mankind must be so.

"It appeareth by St. Paul, that these succours were of free charity, favour, and liberality, and not by constraint."—Discour[illegible] p. 682. Oxford, [illegible]

[h] Sect. 27. above.

[i] See chap. xi. sect. 37.

[k] Ita missis . . . . . officialibus, acciti numerative quadringenti et aliquanto amplius Occidentales Episcopi Ariminum convenere: quibus omnibus annonas et cellaria dare imperator præceperat: sed id nostris, id est, Aquitanis, Gallis, ac Britannis, indecens visum: repudiatis fiscalibus, propriis sumptibus vivere maluerunt. Tres tantum ex Britannia, inopia proprii, publico usi sunt, cum oblatam a cæteris collationem respuissent. Sanctius putantes, fiscum gravare quam singulos.—Sacr. Hist., lib. ii. § 55. pp. 400, 401. Amstelodami, 1665.

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Constantine indeed, at the council of Nicæa[1], had furnished not only the waggons of the exchequer to convey them to the place, but also the greatest part, if not their whole charge during the action. But his son, intending by duress to constrain them to decree that which he intended—because he knew that if they decreed it not, his authority would be of no more effect to induce the Church to receive it, than the heathen emperors had been to induce it to renounce Christianity—using his sovereign power in commanding his subjects to assemble and continue assembled, laid for a further burthen and duress upon them, to continue there at their own charge, that is, at the charge of their Churches.

§ 50. I will conclude with a memorable passage of St. Gregory Nazianzen, *in Julianum* i.[m], where he tells us, that among other designs of the apostate to extinguish Christianity, one was, to bring the laws of the Church into use among the Gentiles, as the means to propagate and maintain their idolatry, which was visibly the means to propagate and maintain Christianity. Indeed it is a testimony that concerneth all parts of Church law, and evidences all the parts of ecclesiastical power that I have insisted upon. But because it mentioneth partly the erecting of hospitals, for the correspondence of Christians, I have put it here in the last place, where I allege the practice of the Church for the corporation of it. 125

§ 51. *Διδασκαλεῖα μὲν ἱδρύσασθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἕτοιμος ἦν, βήματα τε καὶ προεδρίας, καὶ ὑφεδρίας, ἑλληνικῶν τε δογμάτων ἀναγνώσεις, καὶ ἀναπτύξεις, ὅσαι τε ἦθος ῥυθμίζουσι, καὶ ὅσαι τῆς ἐπικρύψεως· εὐχῶν τε τύπον ἐν μέρει, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων κατὰ μέτρον ἐπιτιμήσεως· προτελείων τε καὶ τελειώσεως, καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἡμετέρας σαφῶς ἐστιν εὐταξίας. ἔτι δὲ καταγώγια πήξασθαι καὶ ξενῶνας, ἀγνευτήριά τε καὶ παρθενῶνας, καὶ φροντισήρια, καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίαν, τήν τε ἄλλην ὁπόση ἐστὶν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολιμαίοις συνθήμασιν, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἔθνους εἰς ἔθνος τοὺς χρήζοντας παραπέμ-*

[1] *Εἰθ' ὥσπερ ἐπιστρατεύων αὐτῷ Θεοῦ φάλαγγα, σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συνεκρότει· σπεύδειν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους γράμμασι τιμητικοῖς προκαλούμενος. οὐκ ἦν θ' ἁπλοῦν τὸ ἐπίταγμα. συνήργει δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ πράξει τὸ βασίλεως νεῦμα. οἷς μὲν ἐξουσίαν δημοσίου παρέχον δρόμου, οἷς δὲ νωτοφόρων ὑπηρεσίας ἀφθόνους.*—Euseb. de Vita Constantini, lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 486. ed. Vales.

[m] S. Gregor. Theol. Opp., tom. i. pp. 138, 139. ed. Ben.

πομεν. "He was ready to set up auditories" instead of churches, "in every city, and presidents of higher and lower states, readings and expositions of the doctrines of the Gentiles, both, which compose men's manners, and the more abstruse. Also in part, the form of prayers, and censuring of sinners according to their measure. Of catechizing also and baptizing, and other things which manifestly belong to the good order that is among us. Besides, to found hospitals to entertain strangers, and convents of virgins, and monasteries, and the humanity which we use to the poor. Also, beside the rest of our order, that of letters of mark which we give to those that need, when they travel from country to country."

§ 52. Julian believed not that these orders came from God, because he believed not Christianity. Those that can believe as he did of these orders, why not of Christianity? Those Christians whose purses maintained the charge of them, would not have been so forward had they thought themselves left free to themselves, without obligation from our Lord by His Apostles. And to that which hath been said, to make evidence of this law, and other laws whereby the Church was made a corporation by the Apostles, I will here desire the reader to add all that he shall find written by Epiphanius, in the end of his work against all heresies, concerning the rules and customs of that one Church, which continueth so only by separating from them. Perhaps they who can think the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles mere fables, because the books were not written by them to whom they are entitled, will not believe that Epiphanius would have written the same things, had they not been real and visible.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE POWER OF EXCOMMUNICATION IN THE CHURCH IS NOT FOUNDED IN THE LAW. WHAT ARGUMENT THERE IS OF IT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. THE ALLEGORICAL SENSE THEREOF IS ARGUMENTATIVE. IT WAS NOT NECESSARY THAT THE CHRISTIANS SHOULD INCUR PERSECUTION FOR USING THE POWER OF THE KEYS, AND NOT [USING IT] BY VIRTUE OF THE LAW.

The power of excommunica-

I AM now come to the point principally insisted on, for all this is premised for a ground to that contradiction which I

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tion in the Church is not founded in the law.

must frame, to that which hath been said against the powe of excommunicating in the Church. To which, insisting upon the premises I say; that I am so far from pretending that right to depend upon the Church by virtue of the law that I insist expressly that there was no such thing introduced by Moses's law, or in force under the law of nature in the time of the patriarchs[n]; and not only admit, but, as for my interest, demand all that for truth which the first book *de Synedriis*[o] hath proved at large, and saved all them that

[n] Fuit igitur etiam ante legem Mosis, ipso Deo auctore, usurpata excommunicatio, quam postea exercuisse Adamum cum suis liquet ex illa filiorum Dei a filiis hominum distinctione, quæ sub Enos, Adami nepote, manifeste in usu esse cœpit. Sic enim vertendus est, et explicandus locus ille Mosis, sub nativitatem Enos—natus est autem ab occiso Abele annis circiter centum et sex—cœpisse agnominationem ex Dei nomine: . . . Quinam igitur fuit excommunicatio humanum recens commentum, quam ipsemet Deus, ab ipso mundi exordio, ante constitutum suæ domus ordinem exercuit?

Jam vero quod ad legem Mosis attinet, civilibus et ecclesiasticis judiciis constitutis, non temere fuisse quosvis, licet circumcisos ad sacros cœtus adhibitos negari non potest. Quid est autem excommunicari, si hoc non est?—Beza, de Presbyterio et Excommunicatione, pp. 37, 38. Genevæ, 1590.

[o] In lege ipsa aut in historia sacra ante captivitatis primæ jam dictæ tempora, usum hunc nullibi comparere. Neque necessarium iis visum est, ut adhiberetur excommunicatio, quamdiu sui erant juris ac penes synedria ac præfecturas juridicas suas potestas manebat, ut ante captivitatem, legitima liberaque omnimoda delicta, juxta leges sacras ac mores superinductos, alias coercendi, idque sive morte, sive plagis, sive mulctis pro multiplici facinorosorum discrimine. Adeoque nec in legis præceptis, nec sub templo primo aut ante captivitatis tempora, usus ipse reperitur, nec sane verba aut nomina illa notissima tria quibus designari solet—juxta ante ostensa—pro ea ullibi in sacris Judæorum literis usurpantur, aut ante captivitatem ita significabant. In captivitate autem potestas eorum in suos publica, nunc plane adeo diminuebatur ut in nihilum omnino redigeretur, ut devictorum solet, nunc ex indultu principum quibus captivi erant ad gradus aliquot, citra capitalia judicia, eadem permissa. Etiam et quandoque ut pœnas omnimodas adeoque capitis in suos exercere possent, impetrarunt Ethnarchæ, et principes captivitatis, ut videre est in historia sacra, apud Josephum, alibique. Ipsi autem legum sacrarum sibique peculiarium et morum avitorum libentissime, etiam avidissime tenaces, quamvis pœnarum forensium executione, qua gavisi antea fuerant, alienis in terris plerumque carebant, summopere tamen inter se ad singularem existimationem suam inter gentes sustinendam patriosque ritus moresque conservandos agebant, adeoque ex pacto inter se convento seu compromisso facinorosos ac contumaces ex suis quos nec capitalibus nec pecuniariis aliisve vulgo usitatis personalibus seu apud se forensibus pœnis jam coercere ob potestatis defectum quirent, maledictione atque vindictæ divinæ imprecatione cum separationis seu pristinæ in convictu ac consortio libertatis diminutionis qualem diximus, ignominia puniri volebant, id est, excommunicatione, ut ita puniti vindictæ divinæ metuentes et pudore inter suos suffusi in bonam redirent mentem, et per absolutionem seu restitutionem, velut purgati reciperentur. Atque ita ea utebantur tum homines singulares, ut ostensum est, tum captivitatis cœtus seu principes, instar fori inter suos ex ejusmodi pacto sæpius se gerentes. Instar fori dico. Nam ubi alienis in terris atque alienæ omnino potestati subditi ac sui juris libertate prorsus carentes degebant, ne concipi quidem cum ratione potest, ex pacto aliquo solum inter se inito, neque a principibus, cui suberant firmato aut legitime permisso, revera forum circa hanc rem eos habuisse, aut jurisdictionem aliquam propriam, sed actum tantum

believe it the pains of doing it again; that excommunication came in force in the synagogue after the captivity, and in the dispersions of the Jews, when they—desiring, as their duty was, to maintain God's law by which they were to be
126 governed, and not having the power of inflicting penalties requisite to maintain it, as not being enabled by their sovereigns—devised a course that might appear reasonable, because necessary, upon supposition of their own law, and yet less presuming upon the sovereign power; which was, to divest him that should incur that forfeit, of the privilege of a Jew, and to banish him the conversation of his native people, either in whole or part, as the penalty was to be measured by the offence.

§ 2. And truly, I count myself with the world obliged to him, that hath employed so much learning to shew it, and that it will only become the wilfulness of them who neither understand the Scriptures themselves, nor will learn of them that do, to imagine an ecclesiastical court distinct from the secular, under the law, in which the priesthood were judges[p]; and to take pains to shew themselves incapable of truth, by seeking to maintain that which he hath shewed to be

jurisdictionem ex convento et reverentia comitante imitantem aut simulantem exercuisse.—Lib. i. cap. vii. pp. 77, 78. Amstel. 1679.

Vitringa is of the same opinion also: Certe enim excommunicatio, ut in exilio nata est, sic illius in exilio maximus est usus. Ut enim id hic ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ addam, excommunicatio non est fundata super jure divino in scriptis Veteris Testamenti, sed nata videtur in captivitate Babylonica.—De Synag. Vetere, lib. iii. par. i. cap. 9. p. 746. Franequer. 1696.

[p] Ad judicia vero mere ecclesiastica, et a civilibus distincta quod attinet, erant in singulis civitatibus, prout aliæ aliis præstabant, constituti judices ex præcipuis civibus ἄρχοντες plurimis Evangelicæ historiæ locis vocati, qui causas civiles deciderent, etiam capitales, si de jure et facto constaret. Erant quoque Levitæ in synagogis, penes quos, adhibitis, ut probabile est, aliquibus illustribus civibus, erat spiritualis administratio. . . . . .

Fuisse vero initio per Mosen distinctos istos consessus, neque mere sacra civilibus permixta, illud quoque manifeste declarat, quod civilia quidem illa judicia apud civitatum portas, sacra vero in synagogis exercebantur. . . .

Ut ad rem redeam, duo fuisse Synedria a Mose constituta, inde quoque constat, quod non uno et eodem tempore fuit utrumque institutum: et quod judicium quidem civilium numerus editur septuagenarius, videlicet extra Mosen, in cujus locum successere primum judices, prout a Deo extra ordinem excitabantur, ac tandem etiam reges. Synedrii vero ecclesiastici numerus non editur: sed eorum jurisdictio manifestissimis verbis ab illa civili discernitur. Dicuntur etiam constituti, Levit. x. 10, ut discrimen ostendant inter sanctum et prophanum."—Beza, de Presbyterio et Excommunicatione, pp. 102—104. Genevæ, 1590.

"I come to the second point, that there was an ecclesiastical government, and an ecclesiastical sanhedrin among the Jews. This distinction of the two sanhedrins, the civil and the ecclesiastical, is maintained by Zepperus," &c. —Gillespie, Aaron's Rod Blossoming, chap. iii. p. [illegible] 1646.

BOOK I.

evidently false. But this being granted, I do not understand what reason can be imagined why it should follow that under the Gospel there should be no such power in the Church. For had it been never so clear, never so much granted, that such a power was in force under the law, yet, could it not be derived upon the Church, mediately or immediately, from some act of our Lord Christ founding His Church, it would not have served the turn. The law of Moses continuing Scripture to the world's end, but law to none but to those whom it was given to oblige—that is, the people that subsisted by receiving it—and that for that time when it was intended to be in force.

§ 3. But if it may appear that the Church is made one society and communion by the act of them that founded it, and that such it cannot be, without a profession, limiting or uniting the right of that communion to him that makes it, nor stand such without power of denying the same to him that visibly makes that profession and visibly fails of it; whether any such thing were in force under the law or not, under the Gospel it shall not therefore fail to be in force. True it is, that this cannot be true unless a competent reason may be made to appear, of something answerable to it under the law, in the same proportion as the correspondence between the law and the Gospel, between the synagogue and the Church holds. But such a one will not be wanting in this case.

§ 4. They that argue[q] from the excluding of Adam out of

[q] Usque adeo vetus, et antiqua existimanda est excommunicationis censura cujus usus divinitus ad nos pervenisse certa fide habetur, ut minime recens sicut falso et temere hæretici mentiuntur, sed prisca potius priscarumque vetustissima rerum merito dicenda sit; ut quæ a primæva orbis origine ortum habuerit, vix enim homine creato, propria voluntate excæcatus Lucifer cum angelis suis extra communionem Paradisi positus anathemate percussus est ab ipso statim orbis initio, nec solum principium dedit excommunicationi; sed sentina quædam efficitur in quam truduntur quotquot sunt excommunicati. Traduntur enim Sathanæ excommunicationis vinculo percussi. Huic autem proxima secuta est excommunicatio cum scilicet Protoplastus omnium parens extra deliciarum ac suavis auræ victusque amœnioris tranquillitatem ejectus est, adjecta etiam maledictionis nota.—Alterii, de Cens. Eccles., tom. i. disp. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 19. Romæ, 1616.

Siquidem hujus ecclesiasticæ pœnæ species quædam, et umbra fuit etiam in statu legis naturæ, nam Adam ad modum excommunicationis prohibitus est ab esu ligni scientiæ, Domino dicente, 'Videte, ne forte sumatis, de ligno vitæ, et de Paradiso ejectus est.'—Sayr. Theol. Moral. Thes., lib. i. cap. iv. §§ 1, 2. p. 12. Venet. 1614.

Antiquissimam in primis ac appositissimam excommunicationis nostræ adumbrationem, suppeditat Adami e

CHAP. XVII.

What argument there is of it in the Old Testament.

Paradise, to the putting of sinners out of the Church—if they argue no more than a figure discernible by the truth, when competent evidence of that truth is made—conclude not amiss. For though this be before the law, yet not before the purpose of God in figuring Christianity was set on foot. And that Paradise, as it is a figure of heaven and the joys thereof, so likewise is a figure of the Church upon earth, is necessarily consequent to the reason upon which the mystical sense of the Old Testament is grounded. So likewise under the law, the shutting of lepers out of the camp of Israel—answerable in the Jews' law to the city of Jerusalem, and supposing the truth of the Gospel, a figure of the visible Church—neither signified any cause, nor produced any effect, but of a legal incapacity of conversing with God's people; but supposing a spiritual people of God, entitled by their profession to remission of sins and life everlasting, a visible failure of this profession is the cause which, producing invisible separation from God, is competent to produce a visible separation from the Church, which is visibly that people.

§ 5. The penalty allotted to the neglect of circumcision is, "The child to be cut off from his people:" which penalty, beginning there, is afterward much frequented by the law in many cases, the penalty whereof is, to be cut off from God's people. Signifying—as he hath learnedly shewed[r], and saved me the pains of doing it again—that such a forfeiture should make him that incurred it liable to be suddenly cut off by God's hand from the land of his people. And because it was an evident inconvenience that a civil law should leave such faults to God's punishment, who never tied Himself to execute the punishment, though He made the transgressor liable to it, therefore the ancients of God's people, according to God's law, have allotted to such faults the punishment of

Paradiso voluptatis ejectio in terram, sentes ac tribulos germinaturam.—Raynaud. de Monit. Eccles., par. ii. cap. ix. § ii. p. 522. Lugduni, 1636.

[r] Sed inauditum est apud Hebræos, morte aliove judicio apud homines forensi plexum esse aliquem, sive ob circumcisionem prætermissam, sive ob fermentum in Paschate comestum, sive ob aliud facinus eo nomine tantum quod pœna . . . . . seu excisio patranti præstitueretur. Interdicta ejusmodi divina violata—si mortis pœna non adjiceretur, quæ aliquoties in lege Mosaica postmodum excisioni etiam adjuncta est—verberibus, mulctis, aliterve ex judicio forensi luenda voluere, nunquam supplicio aliquo capitali. Neque excisionem aliunde quam divinitus expectandam admitti.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. vi. p. 53. Amstelædami, 1679.

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scourging, as next in degree to capital, for grievousness. But there are several other crimes mentioned in the law, which who incurs, is, by the same law, cut off from God's people by 127 being put to death.

§ 6. I demand now, what correspondence can be more exact—supposing the law that tenders the happiness of this life in the land of promise to them that undertake and observe it, to be the forerunner of the new covenant, that tenders remission of sins and life everlasting upon the same terms—than is seen betwixt the invisible and visible forfeiture of the privileges of God's people in the land of promise, and the invisible and visible forfeiture of the communion of God's people, as the sin is notorious or not?

§ 7. Nor will it serve his turn to scorn St. Cyprian[s], urging —as you may see by my book of the Right of the Church, that Origen and St. Augustine do, p. 27[t]—that excommunication in the Church is the same as putting to death under the law; as proving that by a mere allusion, which, if it have not other grounds, is not likely to be received. For St. Paul saith well that "the Scriptures are able to make a man wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus," 2 Tim. iii. 15, speaking of the Scriptures of the Old Testament; because, without faith in Christ, upon the motives which His coming hath brought forth to the world, they are not able to do it; but, supposing those motives received, do enable a Christian to give a reason of that different dispensation whereby it pleased God to govern things under the law; and so not only to attain salvation, but with wisdom to direct others in it, and take away stumbling-blocks out of their way to it. And in this case, should a man go about to persuade Christians to admit such a power over them, by no other argument than this, well might the notion be scorned by them to whom it

[s] Gladii nomen induit eorum excommunicatio, qui ut ab eo, qui in administratione civili in usu erat distingueretur, Gladius dici cœpit sub Cypriani tempora—floruit ille sub annum Christi 250—Spiritalis, qui etiam postea spiritualis quemadmodum etiam in tempora nostra dictus. Occurrit quidem apud Paulum μάχαιρα τοῦ πνεύματος, Gladius Spiritus, sed alio omnino in sensu. Singularis est hac de re apud Cyprianum in Epistola ad Pomponium de Virginibus locus, ubi de abstentis aliquot et ejectis agens, 'Nec putent,' inquit, 'sibi vita aut salutis.' . . . . .

Spiritali gladio superbi et contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesia ejiciuntur.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. pp. 142, 143. Amstel. 1679.

[t] Chap. i. sect. 29.

were tendered. But there being no pretence in this allegation, but of rendering a reason for a power of the Church from that of the synagogue, and the fathers so well stated in the difference between the law and the Gospel, as not easily chargeable of the indiscretion to use ridiculous arguments; it is to be maintained that they have given such a reason from the Old Testament as is to be required by such as would be wise to salvation by it.

§ 8. Indeed, I could not but observe in the late History of Henry VIII., p. 157[u], where the writer imagines what reasons cardinal Wolsey gave the pope for his consent to the dissolving of some little monasteries for the erection of his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; that he alleges among others, "That the clergy should rather fly to tropes and allegories, if not to Cabbala itself, than permit that all the parts of religious worship, though [so] obvious as to fall easily within common understandings, should be without their explication." The intent whereof may justly seem to charge the clergy to have advanced the mystical sense of the Scripture, as a means to make the religion they maintain more considerable for the difficulty of it. But I would there were not too much cause to suspect from other writings of the same author, a compliance with Porphyry, Celsus, Julian, and other enemies of Christianity, that have not spared to charge our Lord Christ and His Apostles with abuse and imposture, in alleging the Scriptures of the Old Testament impertinently to their purpose, though here he charge only the clergy for that wherein they follow His and their steps. To me, I confess, it smelled so rank, that I conceived myself bound to cry out upon the venom that may be so closely couched under the words.

The allegorical sense thereof is argumentative.

§ 9. But to those that believe the truth of Christianity, arguments from the mystical sense of the Old Testament must not seem contemptible—those of our Lord Christ and His Apostles being such—provided that the correspondence between the law and the Gospel be preserved upon the right ground, and in the right grain. Provided also, that no more weight be laid upon them than they are able to bear; to wit, no more than we can lay upon the law of Moses, in proving

[u] By Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. London, 1649.

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the truth of Christianity. Which, if we [allege and] premi not the miracles of our Lord Christ and His Apostles, do to witness their commission from God, together with t excellence of Christianity above Judaism, even in the b lance of reason—if we make not good and constant cor spondence between both, wheresoever the ground of th correspondence takes place—we allege a reason that need reason to defend it. But if we do that, we impress all t miracles done by Moses to introduce the law, to depose t the truth of the Gospel: we furnish ourselves of a magazi of argument in all points of Christianity, to convince tho who have received it, what the constitution of God's ancie people and the truth then on foot will infer, upon the cor spondence which they are supposed to hold with Christiani and with the Church.

§ 10. I do then freely grant that excommunication sto not immediately by God's law, among God's ancient peop though by that power which God's law had vested in the that first introduced it; were it Esdras—by commission fr the king of Persia, as to the power that enforced it wi means to constrain, though by the law as to his title, bef and against other men by the law—or whosoever it we beside.

§ 11. But I will allege evidence for it after the return fr the captivity, which to my knowledge hath not hitherto be alleged[x]; namely, that which is called in the Greek Bil the third book of Maccabees, where it is related, that wh some of the Jews at Alexandria had obeyed the edict Ptolemy Philopater, commanding to worship an idol whi he had set up, the rest of the people—*τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας αὐτῶν ἐβδελύσσοντο, καὶ ὡς πολεμίους τοῦ ἔθνους ἔκρινον, κ*

[x] Selden had alleged it in his first book *de Synedriis*, cap. xii. It seems to have escaped Thorndike, though well acquainted too with the contents of that book.

Quod vero ad apostatas ex Judæis attinet—de quibus paulo ante dictum—sententia excommunicationis etiam illi, ubi capitalium judiciorum potestas genti deerat, pro arbitrio eorum quæ præerant ferrebantur, cujus rei exemplum egregium pervetustumque in Judæis Alexandrinis aliisque Ægyptiensibus illis qui sub Ptolemæi Philoi toris tyrannide seu circa annos a Christum 200, rituum suorum te ciores, eos qui regiarum minarum m in apostasiam transierant se pagani sacrificiis immiscentes, et execraban et pristino vitæ consortio quatenus licet potuere, per excommunicatio privabant etiam et velut hostes ge censebant. In tertio nempe Macc bæorum de eis legitur *τοὺς ἀπο ροῦντας*, &c. as in the text.—P. 2 Amstel. 1679.

τῆς κοινῆς συναναστροφῆς καὶ εὐχρηστίας ἐστέρουν—"abhorred those of them that had turned apostates, and condemned them as enemies to the nation, depriving them of mutual conversation and the benefit of it." Upon the consideration of which passage I easily conclude that of 2 Macc. xiv. 38. not to be well understood nor translated, where it is said that Razias ἦν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τῆς ἀμιξίας κρίσιν εἰσενηνεγμένος Ἰουδαισμοῦ: signifying indeed, that in the former times—under Antiochus Epiphanes, when so many Jews departed from their law—he had brought in the decree of not mixing Judaism: that is to say, that he had been the means of passing a decree that those who stuck to their profession should not communicate with the apostates. These things were done by virtue of the law, against the will of their sovereigns, and therefore Philopater complains of them for it, 3 Macc. iii. 16, 17, but it is by virtue of his decree, being his subjects, that they put them to death afterwards, vii. 8, 9, 10.

[The Jewish excommunication involved temporal penalties,]

§ 12. I do also grant, that the putting of a man out of the synagogue—which I admit to have come in by the act of those men, who nevertheless had their authority originally from that act of God which made them a people under those laws—imported a great abatement of the temporal privilege of each Jew's estate, inasmuch as it is evident that whosoever was banished the conversation of Jews, in whole or in part, was at the same rate abated the privilege of a Jew, which they held, by the declaration of their sovereigns, to maintain them in the use of their own laws. For the privilege which a man holdeth among his people whereof he is a native, will appear of what consequence it is, when he comes to live among strangers.

[but not so does the Christian,]

§ 13. But I do not therefore yield, that to be excommunicate out of the Church, by the original constitution thereof, and the law of God, imports the abatement of any secular privilege[r]: because of the difference between the synagogue and the Church, which God appointed to be gathered out of all nations, under the condition of bearing Christ's cross. For such a company refusing their communion to such as they exclude, can neither prejudice their persons, goods, nor

[r] See chap. xi. sect. 15.

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fame; which being doubtful to the world so long as they profess the religion which the world owns not, returns, by consequence, when they quit that religion to return to the religion of the state. Rather, as the Leviathan truly says[z], they make themselves liable to all the persecution that may be brought upon them by such as think they have had ill measure by being put out of the Church.

It was not necessary that the Christians should incur persecution for using the power of the keys, and not using it by virtue of the law.

§ 14. Now to that which is argued[a], that because the Christians went for Jews among the Gentiles at the beginning of Christianity, enjoying Jews' privileges, and thereby the exercise of their religion, therefore the excommunications[b] used by them must needs be such as were in force among the Jews according to Moses's law, that is, by the power which it establisheth; the answer is by denying the consequence. The reason this[c]: the Christians at the beginning communicated with the Jews in that service of God which they used, as well in the temple as in the synagogue: how should they have opportunity to make them acquainted with the Gospel otherwise? But as sometimes they assembled 129 secretly among themselves for fear of the Jews, Acts xii. 12, John xx. 19; so also, besides those offices which they served God with among the Jews, in the temple or in the synagogue, they acknowledged others which they held themselves bound to, and for which they retired themselves from the Jews, Acts i. 13; ii. 42, 46; iv. 23, 24; v. 42; vi. 1. The ground of their communion with the Jews, Christians know to have been the hope of winning them to be Christians—lasting while that hope should continue the ground of serving God

[z] Cited in note m, chap. xi. sect. 21.

[a] Haud concip endum videtur, Apostolos, utpote ipsos undequaque Judæos aliosve ab eis tunc Judaismo vero ac reformato, id est, Christianismo imbutos, et per baptismum in Judaismum illum verum quem universi amplecti debebant, admissos, inter se non jure Judaico in excommunicationis suæ pœnis exercendis, uti in rebus ad consortium vitæ spectantibus inter se ejusmodi aliis, usos esse, idque omnimodo ut Judæi tunc faciebant reliqui. Loquitur ad Corinthios et Galatas Paulus de Cherem seu anathemate, et Corinthiis sic de Maranatha, ut de vocibus ac rebus ex disciplina Judæis adeoque inde ipsis satis cognitis atque in terris exteris, ex more Judaico, libere usurpandis, utcunque causæ de quibus monet, singulares fuerint atque Christianismo propriæ.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. p. 126. Amstel. 1679.

[b] Chap. xi. sects. 4, 5.

[c] Templum item Hierosolymitanum tam credentibus quam non credentibus commune tunc erat, uti et cultus jurisque Judaici reliqua non pauca, etiam et synagogæ et proseuchæ, idque ut Judæorum cœtui, licet persuasione de Messia adeo partes in diversas distraherentur.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. p. 123. Amstel. 1679.

in their own assemblies—the obligation of Christianity for ever to continue. CHAP. XVII.

§ 15. In regard of the conversation and communion which they held with the Jews, whether civil or religious, they were subject to be excommunicated by the Jews. That is part of our Lord's prophecy, John xvi. 2: "They shall put you out of their synagogues; nay, the time cometh, that whoso killeth you, shall think that he doeth God service." But whatsoever the effect of these excommunications may be, being driven and confined in a manner to the communion of the Church—by being excluded, or at least abridged, the communion of the synagogue—must they not needs forfeit their communion by not fulfilling the condition by which they held it? Or could they forfeit it upon other grounds, or to other effect, than those upon which, and to which, they held it?

§ 16. Indeed I will not undertake to give you many Scripture examples of excommunications during that time. For when it appeared that the Apostles discerned the secrets of men's hearts, and inflicted death on those that proceeded hypocritically in their Christianity, it is no marvel that none of the rest durst join themselves to them, as St. Luke informs us, Acts v. 13; that is, of those that were not persuaded sincerely to embrace and undertake Christianity. And excommunication is only for those who appear not to be sincerely Christians, denying it either by express profession, or by consequence of their actions inconsistent with it.

§ 17. Simon Magus[d] may well be reckoned the first; who being sentenced by St. Peter to have "nor part nor lot in this word," that is, in any thing which Christianity pretendeth to give—because it appeared that he had professed it out of hope to learn how to do such strange feats as might advance the credit and ends of his magic—is by him exhorted indeed to repentance, but so, that the Apostle engages not himself, that is, the Church, to pray for him, as not satisfied yet of the truth of his repentance and conversion to Christianity, Acts viii. 18—24. Which is the very practice of the primitive Church—as I have shewed more at large in the Right of the Church, p. 17—27.[e]—towards apostates, murderers, and adulterers, whom many times and in divers parts they re-

[d] See chap. ix. sect. 2. [e] ...tt. 19—29.

BOOK I. stored not to the communion of the Church—as counting it very difficult for them that had failed so grossly, to give competent assurance of sincere Christianity—though exhorting them to repentance, and giving them hope of forgiveness from the goodness of God, when they found not reason to engage the Church, by restoring them, to become the warrant of it.

§ 18. In consequence to this passage of St. Peter with Simon Magus, and in consideration of those texts of the New Testament which I have handled afore[f], though I acknowledge a power of excommunicating in the Church, yet I do not imagine that any man could be absolutely excommunicated, further[g] than this severity of discipline was in force, which refused penance to some of the most grievous sins. For whosoever was, or might be, by the custom in force, re-admitted upon penance, is rather excommunicate by his own act if he refuse it, than by any act of the Church that requires it. But inasmuch as whosoever is refused communion till he perform his penance, is absolutely refused, not performing it, there is never a penitential canon in the records of the Church, never a passage mentioning penance in any of those that wrote before the canons of the Church were in writing, that deposes not for a power of excommunicating in the Church. As for those whose sins were allowed no hope to be re-admitted, though they were absolutely shut out of the Church, yet inasmuch as they were sent to God with hope of mercy, they were saved, if saved, by that key, which, by authority[h] as well as knowledge, let them into heaven by shutting them out of the Church.

§ 19. But suppose this case may be understood otherwise; for the possibility of the thing, those that were subject to be excommunicated by the synagogue, are not therefore disabled to excommunicate one of themselves—any more than those who now depart from the Church of Rome, are disabled to excommunicate one of their own—though we suppose them to pass for Jews to the Romans their masters, and to enjoy

[f] In chap. ix. above.

[g] "It can no further be said that a man was absolutely excommunicated than this severity."—MSS.

[h] "The authority, which shutting them out of the Church constrains them to seek to God as well as the knowledge which informed them of their state required it, lets them."—MSS.

thereby the exercise of their Christianity. For so long as their interest obliged not the Romans to distinguish between carnal and spiritual Jews, it is no marvel, if, allowing the Jews to govern themselves in the land of promise, they allowed them also to persecute those whom they took for apostates, though their own subjects. But when the persecution upon the death of Stephen ceased—whether by the conversion of Paul, or by the death of Herod, or whatsoever might move the Jews to surcease, not the Romans to forbid it—no marvel if the Romans maintained that liberty which the Jews tolerated—that is, persecuted not—in those whom they held apostates. For if the Romans themselves, in after times, did not always persecute Christianity when they allowed it not, is it any thing strange, that the Jews, who held their own religion from the mere grant of the Romans, should find cause not to persecute their apostates, as they counted the Christians, with that power which they were allowed by the Romans?

§ 20. This being the case of the first Christians in Palestine, it will be easy thereby to take measure how it must stand with them in the dispersions of the Jews, to whom they were to bring the Gospel in the first place. For suppose it entertained with that repute among them which might preserve it from being persecuted, the foresaid reason would oblige the Christians to communicate with the Jews, as well in the service of God in the synagogue as in civil converse; though obliged moreover, as they should be able, to assemble themselves for the service of God as Christians. So the Christians of Antiochia, whom Paul and Barnabas "assembled in the Church for a year together," Acts xi. 26, were not to forbear to serve God with the Jews in the synagogue, so long as they and Christianity could hold so much credit with them as to give hope of reducing them to it. So when the same Paul and Barnabas created presbyters for the Churches which they had founded, Acts xiv. 23, sure they intended them not for the synagogue, which was provided without them[1], but to maintain the communion of those Churches in the service of God as Christians.

§ 21. As for the Romans their sovereigns, by whose grant

[1] See chap. xv. sects. 24, 25.

BOOK I. the Jews enjoyed all that use of their laws which they enjoyed, no man will marvel that they took no notice of the difference between Jews and Christians, so long as the Jews complained not, when we see them refuse to make themselves executioners of their wrath upon the Christians when they did complain. We must not forget Gallio, Acts xviii. 12—17, when Paul was brought afore him, taking the difference to be only about names and terms of their own law, and refusing to be judge in it, though leaving them to persecute the Christians, as by their own customs, namely by scourging, they might do. Nor marvel that he at that time should think no more of it, when we find by Origen[k], that Celsus the Epicurean, writing against the Christians two hundred years after, takes it for a suit about goats' wool, which is nothing.

§ 22. As for the edict of Claudius, that all Jews should depart from Rome, Acts xviii. 2, the case is plain, that Aquila and Priscilla, and all native Jews, though Christians, were involved in it, and bound to withdraw. But whether or no it laid hold on those that had been converted to Christianity being Gentiles, and had not the legal mark of Jews, which was circumcision, upon them, by the text of St. Luke appears not; no, though we suppose that which I have shewed in the Primitive Government of Churches, pp. 53—57[l], to be probable, and have still much reason to believe that the Christians at Rome lived at first divided into two bodies, one of Jews under St. Peter, the other of Gentiles under St. Paul. For the Jews, as, in the land of promise, they were bound by the law to protect strangers—such as, renouncing idols, should profess to serve the true God—but not to suffer idolaters to live in it; so, in their dispersions, they must needs find themselves bound, proportionably, to cherish those that should make the like profession, whom they called "the godly of the 131
nations." But the empire, and the ministers thereof, whether they intended to comprise them in the right and privilege of

[k] Φησί δή, ὅτι εὐηθέστατα ἐρίζουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους Χριστιανοὶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ λέγει μηδὲν διαφέρειν ἡμῶν τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διάλογον περὶ Χριστοῦ τῆς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν καλουμένης ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχης· καὶ οἴεται μηδὲν σεμνὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσει·—Contra Celsum, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 448. ed. Ben.

[l] Chap. v. sects. 2—7. See also Review, chap. v.

Jews, because joined to their religion, or of Gentiles, because uncircumcised, the text of that Scripture decides not.

§ 23. I confess, considering the words of Suetonius, *Claud.* xxv.: *Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit;* "The Jews, raising continual tumults at the moving of Chrestus, he drove out of Rome;" I cannot give a better reason for the tumults, which, he saith, occasioned the edict, than the difference between them and the Christians, part of whom were Jews, others adhered to them as Gentiles converted to the true God. Whether his meaning be to lay the fault upon the Christians—supposing that it is our Lord Christ whom he calls Chrestus, no difference in sound being discernible—or whether he meant to say that one Chrestus a Jew in Rome, was author of those tumults, as some would have it[m], no reason can be given for those tumults so probable. But whether so or not, to our purpose it will be of no consequence. For as well Gentile as Jewish Christians being forced from Rome, and seeking shelter among Christians elsewhere, would easily accommodate themselves with the Jews of other parts, upon the same terms as Christians did otherwise, and yet continue to preserve themselves Christians, and thereby members of the Church, upon such terms as all Christians understood.

§ 24. It should seem by the Epistle to the Ephesians i. 11—13, ii. 2, 3, 11—20, iii. 1—6, that the first foundation of that Church was merely of Gentiles, the Jews that may have been converted being so few that St. Paul held them not considerable to be taken notice of in his Epistle. A thing that agrees punctually with that which St. Luke relates, Acts xix. 8—10, that St. Paul, perceiving he could not prevail with the Jews by his discourses in the synagogue, "departed, and separated the disciples," that is the Christians, "from them,

[m] Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Claudius Roma expulit —Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 25—Hujus Chresti solus, ni fallor, meminit Suetonius: nam Christum Dominum nostrum—a quo Christiani, alibi ab eodem memorati denominationem acceperunt —hic ab illo fuisse intellectum adhuc mihi persuadere non possum.—Usserii Annales, ad an. Mundi, 4057. p. 6 Londini, 1673.

Hujus autem imperialis præcepti causa non exprimitur. Sed in Scholastica Historia dicitur quod hæc fuit causa, quia Judæi habitantes Romæ familiaritatem contraxerant cum Agrippina ejus uxore, et faciebant eam judaizare.—Nicol. de Lyra, Gloss. in Act. xviii. 1. col. 1179. Lugduni, 1590. See also Thorndike, de Ratione fi- Controversias, cap. xi. p. 205.

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disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus." And this for two years, till the Gospel was known to all Asia, Jews and Gentiles. This Tyrannus[n], nevertheless holding a school, seems to have been a doctor of the Jews' law, so that all Jews refused not the faith. These, I suppose, no man will argue that they used excommunication as the Jews did, because they had departed from the Jews: and yet it is agreeable to the case under Gallio to conceive that they were looked upon by the Romans as a sort of men that had broken from the Jews, whose religion they had professed afore, and indifferently protected by them, as not concerned in the difference, while no law was made against Christianity.

§ 25. The coming indeed of St. John into Asia seems to have brought a very great harvest of Jews into the Church, by that compliance which his successors at Ephesus, and in the rest of Asia, held with the Jews for the winning of them to Christianity. But this was afterwards. In fine, before the separation of Christians from the Jews, the Church seems to have been, as it were, a child unborn in the mother's womb, which though it draw the means of subsistence from the mother, yet is it complete in all the same faculties of life which it shall exercise afterwards: so, whatsoever it was fit for the Church to do while it held communion with the synagogue, it was able then, by the power of conducting as well as founding it in the Apostles, to do whatsoever it did afterwards, only the body was strangely changed which it was to govern.

[n] Syrus, Dionysius, Arias, et Mariana censent, Tyrannus esse nomen proprium viri sic appellati; imo Arias censet nomen Tyranni mutatis punctis, idem esse quod Tyrni, vel Turni. Sic Tyrannio dictus est grammaticus ille, quem laudat Strabo lib. xiii. Forte hic est ille Tyrannus sophista, quem scribit Suidas libros decem edidisse de statu et divisione orationis. Ita Baronius.—Cornel. à Lapide, Comm. in Act. xix. 9.

De hoc Tyranno aliqui sunt in sententia quod Tyrannus hic nomen proprium sit; alii vero, quod veniat sub hoc nomine aliquis vir potens, apud quem disputationes haberet securior Paulus; et his adhærere tutius esse dijudico.—Franciscus, Polygrap. Sacr. *in voce*.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ST. PAUL'S ANATHEMA AND THAT OF THE JEWS. IT IS NOT NECESSARY THAT THE CHRISTIANS' ANATHEMA SHOULD SIGNIFY CURSING. THAT THE INCESTUOUS PERSON AT CORINTH WAS EXCOMMUNICATED BY ST. PAUL. JURISDICTION OF THE CHURCH. TELLING THE CHURCH, BINDING AND LOOSING, HOLDING HIM THAT IS BOUND FOR A HEATHEN OR A PUBLICAN, SIGNIFY THE SAME. THE COHERENCE OF OUR LORD'S DISCOURSE. OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND INDULGENCE BY PRIVATE PERSONS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH. THAT EXCOMMUNICATION AND THE POWER OF THE CHURCH COULD NOT COME IN FORCE BY THE VOLUNTARY CONSENT OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS. HOW IT MAY BE SAID TO BE VOLUNTARY. OF THE CONFEDERACY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.

The difference between St. Paul's anathema and that of the Jews.

AND here[o] I cannot choose but marvel, that the *anathema* which St. Paul's Epistles mention sometimes, should be made an argument that the excommunication which he means by it is the same which the Jews used, because theirs was called by the same name[p]. For the answer is the same that I said afore[q], of the name of the Church, but there is more particular evidence for the reason here, in the words of the Apostle. I do, for my part, believe them that conceive the name by which the Jews call *anathema*, that is שמאתא, to signify the same that St. Paul means by *maranatha*. For the Jews use to call God השם, that is, "the Name." And this, I con-

[o] See chap. xi. sect. 7.

[p] Quod ad Judaicum hic jus illorum temporum attinet; de eo quidem non ita obscure liquet in ante adductis de excommunicationis tunc usu, maxime cum a viris doctissimis tam Niddui quam Cherem Judæorum in anathemate et excommunicatione primitivi illius Christianismi seu Apostolica, eousque, ut est ostensum, agnoscatur. Qualenam illud fuerit capite superiori demonstratur. Atque eodem ipso jure subnixam esse et ad ejusdem ritus et formulas, Apostolorum tempore, excommunicationem adhibitam, firmat etiam tum nominis tum juris Judaici tunc communio inter Judæos reliquos atque eos qui Christi disciplinam amplexati essent, seu Apostolos et discipulos. Neque enim eorum quisquam erat per annos aliquot ab Ascensu Domini, uti et ante tetigimus, qui non aut origine atque undiquaque Judæus, seu Ebræus ex Ebræis, aut e gentibus, ut proselytus justitiæ ita adscitus, ut inde pro Judæo etiam omnino censeretur, adeoque pars undiquaque esset synagogæ seu Ecclesiæ universalis primo Judaicæ, atque eo nomine Christianismum induens, ejusdem nihilominus synagogæ seu Ecclesiæ juribus, atque inter ea hoc quod tractamus, ut ante uteretur. Non aliter atque is qui civis Romani aliusve reipublicæ seu sodalitii alicujus socius jura pristina retinet, utcunque in persuasionem aliquam inter suos singularem pro libitu transeat. De Paulo ipso Ebræo ex Ebræis, adeoque moribus Judaicis accuratius innutrito, cui in Epistolis singularis ille anathematis usus, res palam est. Neque enim quasi quidquam circa illud innovandum vellet, vocem adhibet, sed ut in ante recepto suorum sensu.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. pp. 120, 121. Amstel. 1679.

[q] Chap. vi. sects. 12—16.

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ceive, they compound with the verb אתא, signifying "to come," and so make of both the verb שמת, signifying *maledixit* or *execravit*, "he cursed by the coming of God." Though they use it to signify the least degree of excommunication, whereas to curse a man by the coming of God, seems to leave him to God to take vengeance of, as incurable and desperate; for every man knows how much difference there is between the original and use of words.

[Maranatha.]

§ 2. Now it is evident by the writings of the prophets every where, that they use to describe the appearance of God to punish sin, in the style of "God's coming." And in that style the passage which St. Jude referreth to proceedeth, Jude 14, 15; "Behold the Lord cometh with His holy myriads to execute vengeance on all, and to reprove all their wickedness, for all the wicked works that they have done, and for all the hard words which they have spoken against Him as wicked sinners." For these are the words which Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is brought in speaking in that place, to the old world whom he preached to, to recall them from that wickedness, which, in the end, was punished by the deluge. Now when St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema, maranatha;" it is plain that *maranatha* signifies "our Lord comes;" and so refers to the second coming of our Lord Christ, which the Gospel preaches. For this learned person, in the first book *de Synedriis*, p. 214[r], acknowledges that it is not in use among the Jews.

§ 3. And the correspondence between the law and the Gospel requires that those things which are prophesied in the Old Testament concerning the coming of God, be understood to be completed in the second coming of Christ: according to that of St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 10, 11; "We shall all be presented before the judgment seat of Christ, as it is written; As I live, saith the Lord; to Me shall every knee bow, and every tongue shall give glory to God." Where, that which the prophet had said of the appearance of God in former judgments concerning His people, Esa. xlv. 23, that, the Apostle affirmeth to be fulfilled in the coming of our

[r] Sed nondum vocabulum illud Ebræorum scriptoribus usurpatum comperi,—Lib. i. cap. viii. Londini, 1653. p. 115. Amstel. 1679.

Lord Christ to judgment. Therefore, when St. Paul says, "Let him be anathema, maranatha," he means, let him expect vengeance at the second coming of Christ: at which St. Jude says that the prophecy of Enoch against the old world shall be accomplished upon those that he writes against; for how can he say otherwise? "Enoch prophesied against these?" And can it be thought that a Jewish excommunication can proceed upon supposition of the coming of our Lord Christ to judgment? That were as much a jest as that of the History of Don Quixote[s], where he saith, that the original historian in the Arabic, being a Mahometan, protests the truth of it upon the faith of a good Christian.

§ 4. So when St. Paul saith again, Rom. ix. 3, "I myself
133 could wish to be anathema from Christ, for my brethren, my kindred according to the flesh;" I will not dispute that ingenious interpretation of Grotius[t], which this learned person[u], with others, allows; that he wishes, instead of an Apostle and chief in the Church, to be counted a man unfit for any Christian to converse with: for it punctually agrees with St. Paul's style, 1 Cor. xii. 12; "For, as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body, so is Christ;" that is to say, the Church. And so Gal. iii. 27; "We are baptized into Christ," because into the Church.

§ 5. But admitting this interpretation, how can it be imagined to signify a Jewish excommunication, that cuts off a Christian from the Church? He that is put out of the synagogue, inasmuch as he is put out of it, is made anathema to Moses, not to Christ. That is, he is cut off from the privileges of a Jew, from the hope of returning into the land of promise, and freedom in it from the yoke of foreign nations; not from the hope of life everlasting, which they indeed pro-

[s] Entra Cide Hamete, coronista desta grande historia, con estas palabras en este capítulo: *Juro como católico Christiano;* á lo que su traductor dice que el jurar Cide Hamete como católico Christiano, siendo él moro, como sin duda lo era, no quiso decir otra cosa, sino que así como el Católico Christiano quando jura [illegible] debe jurar verdad, y decirla [illegible] así él la decia, como [illegible] tiano Católico, en lo que queria escribir de Don Quixote.—Tom. iii. cap. xxvii. p. 274. Lond. 1814.

[t] Hoc dicit, Velim non modo carere honore Apostolatus, verum etiam contemptissimus esse inter Christianos, quales sunt qui excommunicati sunt.—Tom. ii. vol. ii. p. 726. Londini, 1679.

[u] Selden, who says;—et recte ibi Grotius:—De Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. p. 115. Amstel. 1679.

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mise themselves by the law of Moses, but Christians know they cannot have, unless they renounce the holding of it from the law of Moses. And therefore St. Paul, when he bids anathema to whosoever shall preach another Gospel than that which he had preached, Gal. i. 8, 9, must needs mean the same as a Christian, which he signifies to be meant by him that calleth Jesus anathema, 1 Cor. xii. 3. He that calleth Jesus anathema, defieth Him as rejected by God.

[Anathema.]

§ 6. Anathema indeed signifieth that which is consecrated to God: but it answers the Hebrew word חרם, as in Levit. xxvii., because consecration was a profession of abandoning for ever that which was consecrated, implying a curse upon all that should lay hands on it to any other use. And when the Jews said to their fathers or mothers, "Be it korban, whatsoever thou mayest be the better for of mine;" they cursed themselves, if ever their father or mother were the better for any goods of theirs, as much as if they should give them things consecrated to eat or to drink; supposing that if they did so, no man was to touch or come near them more than consecrated things. So when God made Jericho anathema or חרם, whatsoever was not for the use of God's service was to be destroyed; whatsoever might be for His service, he that laid hands on it to any other use, became himself of the condition of that which was not for God's service. And such the Apostle professeth to hold him, whosoever should preach any other Gospel besides that which he had preached.

It is not necessary that the Christians' anathema should signify cursing.

§ 7. For I must not allow that the Church, when it excommunicateth, or the Apostle, when he biddeth anathema, intendeth to curse, that is to say, to pray to God actually to bring those curses upon them which they are liable to[x]; though I confess this is not the place[y] to dispute such a question, because the resolution of it will suppose something

[x] Atque ita puto satis cuique constabit, ipsum excommunicationis actum, qua ut pœna singularis erat apud Ebræos in usu, nullibi in vetere fœdere τῷ *Cherem* respondere, cum interim pariter sit fatendum ex significationibus ibi ejusdem seu earum circumstantiis ac appendicibus aliquot natum fuisse ac adsumtum nomen quo tum singularis illa excommunicationis gravioris species tum ipsum excommunicationis, juxta ante dicta, genus intelligeretur. Nimirum maledictio seu devotatio, dirarumque imprecatio ejusmodi ut exitium a vindicta divina pœnarumque cœlitus, seu a numine peccatoribus inflictarum ministris, inde exoptaretur expectareturque, qualis tum maledictis, tum pœna in ipso actu τοῦ Cherem ... reperitur.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. vii. pp. 73, 74. Amstel. 1679.

[y] See book iii. chap. xxxii.

which can neither be proved, nor supposed without proof, in this place, where my purpose is to settle the principles of Christian truth, by which principles this is to be resolved. It shall be enough to say here, that it is evident that the Greek Church, following an order or sentence of St. John Chrysostom's[z], doth, for the most part, insist that Christians are not to curse Christians; whatsoever be the practice of the Church of Rome, in the bull of Maundy Thursday at this time[a].

§ 8. And yet the very present practice of that Church doth not seem necessarily to import praying for God's vengeance upon heretics, and others who are then cursed; because it is their custom to pray for their conversion the very next day, that is, on Good-Friday[b]. Therefore it may very well seem that all their solemnities of cursing do not amount to signify that the Church prays for mischief upon them whom they declare to be accursed, but by these solemnities express how they would have them esteemed by Christians. Though, by

[*Bulla cœnæ Domini.*]

[z] Ὁ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς, σεβαστὲ νομοφύλαξ καὶ καθολικὲ κριτὰ Ἀρμενόπουλε, πῶς οὐ κακεῖνο τοῖς γεγραμμένοις προσεθήκας, ὅτι διὰ τοὺς χρυσοὺς καὶ ἁγίους νόμους τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωστῆρος Ἰωάννου τοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν χριστιανοὺς ἀναθεματίζεσθαι, ἕως ἂν δηλόνοτι τῆς ὀρθῆς ἔχωνται περὶ Θεοῦ δόξης, —Philothei Refut. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Græco-Rom., tom. i. lib. iv. p. 288. Francofurt. 1596.

Selden mentions this, and has cited the foregoing passage in his de Synedr., lib. i. cap. x. pp. 211—213. Amstel. 1679. Alterius explains the meaning of St. Chrysostom differently from Selden. See his Disput. de Cens. Eccles., lib. i. disp. iii. cap. ii. pp. 23—27. Romæ, 1618. The Homily of St. Chrysostom on the subject is the 37th in the sixth vol. of Savile's edition, p. 439.

[a] Hæc autem Bulla non videtur res usque adeo antiqua, quandoquidem D. Thomas illius non meminerit, sed a tempore Martini V. circa annum Domini 1420, quo tempore Bohemorum hæreses in concilio Constantiensi fuerint damnatæ. Cujus etiam Bullæ Paulus II. et Six[illegible] extravagantibus, *Et* [illegible] minerunt. Pi[illegible] adversus Martinum Lutherum eam auxit, ac deinde Paulus III. adversus regias curias Apostolicarum literarum executiones impedientes. Nuperrima vero est sub Paulo IV. qui nunc sedet, et continet casus XV.—Soto, in IV. Sent. dist. xxii. Quæst. 2. Art. 3. p. 555. Duaci, 1613.

[b] In the Mass of the day;—Oremus et pro hæreticis et schismaticis: ut Deus et Dominus noster eruat eos ab erroribus universis, et ad Sanctam matrem Ecclesiam Catholicam atque Apostolicam revocare dignetur.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui salvas omnes et neminem vis perire: respice ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas: ut omni hæretica pravitate deposita, errantium corda resipiscant: et ad veritatis tuæ redeant unitatem.—Missale Rom. Feria VI. in Parasceue. These and the following prayers of the Missal have been thrown together into one, in the English Book of Common Prayer, and form the third Collect for Good Friday.

Covarruvias speaks of these prayers thus:—Orat Ecclesia in die Veneris Sanctæ pro hæreticis, paganis, Judæis, et infidelibus, non ut membris Ecclesiæ, sed aliis ad hoc orationibus institutis.—Relect. c. *Alma Mater*, de Sent. Excom. § 6. n. 3. in fin.

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that corruption of Christian charity which time hath brought to pass, it be now generally understood no otherwise than as a prayer for God's vengeance; and there may be great reason to think, that the ancient fathers and councils did not pronounce anathema against heretics in any other sense, or to any other purpose[c] [but that it might be understood that they were to be avoided, not prayers for vengeance[d]].

§ 9. Nay the words of Vincentius Lirinensis, which I quoted afore[e], make it most evident that the ancient Christians understood nothing else by anathema, when he expounds St. Paul, Gal. i. 8, 9; *Anathema sit, inquit; id est, separatus, segregatus, exclusus, ne unius ovis dirum contagium* 134
innoxium gregem Christi venenata permistione contaminet. "Let him be anathema, saith he; that is, let him be severed, set aside, shut out, lest the direful contagion of one sheep, with any mixture of venom, stain the innocent flock of Christ." Which is enough to shew that therefore it ought not to have been put into the definition of that excommunication which is pretended to be made by the power of the Church, that it containeth a curse or curses against them on whom it is inflicted, as you shall find the first book *de Synedriis* doth, in the place quoted afore[f]. Because those that agree in chal-

[c] Atque inde factum est quod patres Christiani primitivi, anathema, et anathemare, et anathematizare, et anathematismum ita intelligant de maledictione, execratione, detestatione, abominatione, idque ex Judaico, sed recentiori, usu—cujus verbum esse anathema proprium ait Hieronymus—quatenus nimirum aut præviæ excommunicationi quæ nomen *Cherem* et apud Hellenistas anathema sic induerat, fuerint diræ, quoties ipsa excommunicatio integra legitime exerceri potuerit, et subsequens destructionis seu libertatis amissionis gradus accesserit, aut quatenus simpliciter etiam sine coercendi seu aliam per separationem aliterve pœnam infligendi potestate diræ—quarum simplex etiam usus apud Græcos et Romanos veteres, instar cumuli earum apud Ovidium in Ibin notissimi, idque genus aliarum, perquam frequens—seu vindictæ Divinæ imprecatio nominibus illis innueretur. Inde etiam pro anathemate, maledictum absque alia adjectione in fœderis Novi Vulgata, ut sæpenumero alias, reperitur.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. vii. pp. 74, 75. Amstel. 1679.

[d] The passage in brackets is from MSS.

[e] Chap. ix. sect. 29.

[f] Chap. xi. sect. 15. The passage cited there, note c, goes on as follows; —Generalem hujusmodi descriptionem ideo adhibendam voluimus, ut tum Ebræorum tum Christianorum excommunicationis et jura et species seu gradus, adeoque quod est extra synagogam fieri, anathema qua huc spectat, et sacrorum et commercii interdictionem, id genus reliqua ita satis complecteremur. Etenim suus fuit utrisque, tam Ebræis quam Christianis, excommunicationis hujusmodi usus isque antiquissimus. Atque ab illis hos usum suum in Christianismi sæculis primitivis, ut ab eis e quibus, et a quorum disciplina orti sunt et propagati; accepisse par est ut sentiamus, utcunque nec modus nec effectus ejusmodi usus utrisque idem haberetur, ut infra liquebit. Ex simplici quidem vocabuli vi, dici non immerito posset omnimodam

lenging that right for the Church, do not appear to agree in that point. CHAP. XVIII.

§ 10. And this will serve for an argument of difference between the excommunications of Jews and of Christians. For the first, without question, were curses; of the second, it is at least questionable whether it stand with Christianity to take them for curses or not. I do believe that which is said in the first book *de Synedriis*, p. 209[g], that the Jews did not so cut a man off by excommunication as to cast him quite out of their body, but so as to deprive him of free conversation with his native people; to wit, according to the terms limited there afore; the less, that no man should come within his four cubits[h]; the greater, that he should dwell in a cottage alone, and have bread and water brought him, and see no man otherwise[i]. Neither do I find any third kind by the Jews' constitutions, which others would have[k]. [Difference between Jewish and Christian excommunication.]

§ 11. But it were a wrong to common sense to extend this to apostates. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, and after him Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxix., and Hierome, *in Esa.*[l], tells us

et vitæ societatis et indemnitatis amissionem adeoque etiam ipsum ultimum supplicium, deportationem, carcerem, id genus alia esse communionis pristinæ privationem atque ita excommunicationem. Sed nec non ex ipsa vocis vi grammatica hic, sed ex usu tum apud Judæos tum apud Christianos singulari intelligitur tractaturque. Atque ex descriptione jam allata, quæ pœna est singularis et proprie sumitur, palam discriminatur, primo, a maledictione simplici seu ritu simplici execrandi detestandique qualis ille in monte Ebal.—Lib. i. cap. vii. pp. 56, 57. Amstel. 1679.

[g] Neque enim ita penitus per anathema abscindebat synagoga excommunicatum ut pars suorum omnino esse desineret, sed, ut juxta temperamenta superius memorata, pristina convictus inter suos libertate tantum privaretur. Atque eandem ipsam formulam pro excommunicatione comminatoria in Christianismo primitivo receptam esse nemo nescit.—Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 112. Amstel. 1679.

[h] Distinctio illa receptissima in minorem et majorem, seu leviorem et graviorem, aut eundem in sensum, apud Ebræos quidem olim satis obtinuit. . . . . Ejusmodi autem erat status ejus in quem simpliciter seu generaliter sic pronuntiabatur, mutatio, ut regulariter, intra cubitorum quatuor spatium alteri ex Ecclesia seu synagoga sua præter uxorem ac liberos adsidere ei non licuerit.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. vii. p. 58. Amstel. 1679.

[i] De anathemate devoto, res palam est, nam omnimoda præter eam, quæ victui in tuguriolo sibi singulari necessaria erat; hominum consuetudine privabatur; atque is plane a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegabatur; quemadmodum de hujusmodi anathemate sub initiis Ecclesiæ Christianæ loquitur Tertullianus.—Selden. de Jur. Nat. et Gent., lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 541. Argentorati, 1665.

[k] See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 8.

[l] Dicuntur autem hæc ad principes Judæorum, qui supra arguti sunt in avaritia atque luxuria: quod provocati a Domino ad pœnitentiam, et postea ab Apostolis ejus, usque hodie perseverent in blasphemiis: et ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizent vocabulum Christianum.—Comment. in cap. v. 18. tom. iii. col. 53. ed. Ben.

The passages from Justin Martyr and Epiphanius have been given already in the Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 37.

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that the Jews, shortly after our Saviour's time, sent an order through all synagogues over the world, to curse the Christians thrice a day, at public prayers in their synagogues: and at that time practised all means possible to stir up the empire to persecute them to the death. Neither was it strange they should proceed so far against those whom they took for apostates, because the punishments which their own body could inflict would not serve their turn. But this is evidently another thing than that which the great excommunication by their rules importeth. In the mean time, here you have cursing to the purpose, in this utmost exigent [of the subsistence of the synagogue—which seemed in danger to fall by Christianity—they used extraordinary curses[m]]; but so that ordinary excommunication amongst them imported a proportionable measure of the same.

§ 12. That the Apostles should intend to curse, nothing can seem so pregnant as the words of St. Peter to Simon Magus, Acts viii. 20: "Thy money perish with thee." But he that in the next words advises with so much charity, "Repent thee of this thy wickedness, and pray to God, if perhaps this design of thy heart may be forgiven thee," I suppose was far enough from wishing that he might perish, whom he seeks to reclaim. Neither is there any reason why he should wish his money to perish, which the first sound of his words beareth. And therefore it will be requisite to take it for an expression signifying that he held, and would have the Church hold, him as certainly in the way and state of perdition, as the money that he loved was perishable. Much more, when St. Paul wisheth himself anathema, or him that should preach a new Gospel, or loved not the Lord Jesus, it is not his intent to pray for the evil which anathema signifies upon them, but to induce the Church to take them for such men as the Church believes to be liable to the utmost of God's curses.

That the incestuous person at Corinth was excommunicated by St. Paul.

§ 13. As for the business between St. Paul and the Corinthians, there are in it so evident marks of penance enjoined by that Church upon the Apostle's order, as no wit, no learning can serve to deface. St. Paul advises them to restore the offender in these terms, 2 Cor. ii. 5—11: "If any body hath

[m] The words in brackets are from MSS.

grieved me, he hath not grieved me but in part, that I may not charge you all. Sufficient for such a one is this censure inflicted by many. So that ye are rather to gratify and comfort him, lest such a one should be swallowed up with too much sorrow. Wherefore I pray you settle love towards him. For I wrote also for this end, to know the trial of you, whether you be obedient in all things. But if you grant any thing, I also grant it. For if I have granted any thing for your sake, in respect of Christ I have granted it, that Satan get nothing by us; for we are not ignorant of his devices." What is the censure inflicted by many, but the penance which the Church, upon St. Paul's order having enjoined, now desires the Apostle to rest content with; which hereby he accords? What is it that he granteth, "because they grant it, but in respect of Christ," willing them also to gratify and comfort him whom they had censured; but, upon undergoing this censure, the re-admitting of him to the communion of the Church?

[Origin of indulgences.]

§ 14. Since Luther first disputed against indulgences, this text hath been in every man's mouth. Was there ever any reason to deny that there is in the Church a power of abating penance once enjoined, upon trial of him that undergoes it? Or that the example of St. Paul in this place is good evidence for it? Had there been any controversy about it, if the Church of Rome had demanded no more under this title? though, to speak my own mind, perhaps men mistake this indulgence, because they take not St. Paul's proceeding to be so rigid as the strictness of discipline under the Apostles requires. They take it commonly[n], as I said[o], that St. Paul hereby releases him of the penance that had been enjoined; whereas, it may be, he only admits him to penance at their request, and so to the prayers of the Church. Being formerly so excluded from

[n] Sanctus Paulus in epistola prima ad Corinthios cap. v. excommunicat incestuosum quendam Corinthium, eumque a communione reliquorum fidelium segregat; ut patet legenti eam epistolam, et interpretes communiter explicant. Verum in epistola secunda relaxat hanc pœnam, rogatque Corinthios, ut illum denuo in communionem recipiant. Et ne essent difficiles pro receptione, ostendit, hanc potestatem excommunicandi aut excommunicationem solvendi esse spiritualem, eandemque pertinere ad jurisdictionem Episcopi, quatenus gerit personam Christi. Sic ait: 'obsecro vos, ut confirmetis in illum charitatem'—qua illum in communionem meo jussu timide recepistis—'cui enim aliquid'—communionis—'donastis'—donavi—'et ego. Nam et ego, quod donavi, quid donavi'—donavi—'propter vos in persona Christi.'—Euseb. Amort. Hist. Indulgent., par. i. sect. i. p. 28. August. Vindelic. 1735.

[o] Chap. ix. sect. 15.

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the Church, as not to be assured of his reconcilement with God by the warrant of the Church, though not excluded from the hope of it by the mercy of God.

§ 15. Tertullian indeed hath an opinion that it is not the same man whom the Apostle commanded them to deliver to Satan afore, 1 Cor. v. 5. Because, as I said afore[p], according to the strictness of the Montanists, he will not believe that the Apostle would admit such a sinner upon any penance. But this opinion is excluded by the express words of the Scripture; "For I wrote also for this cause, to know the trial of you;" which shew that this is the case which he wrote of in his former Epistle. It remains therefore, that upon St. Paul's first Epistle he was delivered to Satan, but, upon their submission, and request that he would be content with the censure which they propose, he admits him to the comfort of their prayers.

[Indulgence granted by St. Paul.]

§ 16. According to this supposition, the indulgence which St. Paul admits, is not the releasing of penance enjoined, as afterwards it signified in the Church, but the enjoining of penance inferring a grant of the prayers of the Church, towards the means of reconcilement. But whatsoever become of this, indulgence presupposeth the censure which it mitigateth, and therefore the communion of the Church either abated or quite taken from him whom it restoreth to it. And what is the matter that St. Paul grants that which "he grants for their sakes, but in respect to Christ, that Satan," saith he, "whose devices we are acquainted with, get nothing by us?" Two reasons are rendered for this: the one[q] in respect of the party excluded, not to drive him to despair of salvation by Christianity, and consequently to apostasy, or what else that despair might produce: the other—which I remember St. Augustine[r] in some place advances as the reason whereupon the Church, in after ages, was driven to abate of that strictness that was in force under the Apostles—lest those that

[p] Chap. ix. sectt. 17, 18.

[q] Ita ergo Satanas hic concitabat primores Ecclesiæ Corinthiorum ad iram et indignationem in hunc fornicarium, quasi qui primum nitorem suæ Ecclesiæ hac tam turpi nota maculasset, ut ei se duros et rigidos præberent; itaque ipse omni consolatione et spe destitutus, animum abjiceret et desperaret. Hoc Satanæ consilium vidit Paulus, illudque hic discutit, monens ut in gratiam eum recipiant, eique jam pœnitenti veniam et remissionem indulgeant.—Cornel. à Lapide, Comment. in 2 Corinth. ii. 11.

[r] See Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 13; and Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 34.

favoured the party excluded, if he should be refused upon the submission tendered, should make a faction and separate from the Church.

§ 17. Take whether you will of these reasons that have been said, or produce a better that hath not been rendered yet, you shall never make that good which St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. vii. 11, "Plainly, ye have approved yourselves clear in the business," but in this sense; that whereas before there was a party that bare out this incestuous person in his attempt, upon the coming of the first Epistle, the better part prevailed to do that which St. Paul saith they should have done afore, 1 Cor. v. 2; "Ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he which did this deed might be taken from among you."

[Excommunication attended with mourning.]

§ 18. For since it is evident by divers passages of the primitive Church, that excommunication was solemnized in a fashion of mourning[s], as for a member whom the Church had lost, what reason can be given why St. Paul, when he speaks of mourning in this case, should mean any thing else? At least, for Epiphanius's[t] sake, accept of his reasons before any man's opinion without it. He, when St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xii. 21, "I fear God will humble me in respect of you when I come, and that I shall mourn for many that have sinned afore and not repented," by that time I come, of the "uncleanness, whoredom, and wantonness which they have done;" renders the reason of this mourning of St. Paul to be for those
136 whom he should be constrained to put out of the Church; either as then utterly lost, or for their reconcilement with God, being admitted to penance. Though Epiphanius distinguishes not between mourning for the reconcilement of sinners, and mourning for the loss of them, when they were shut out of the Church.

Jurisdiction of the Church.

§ 19. Now when St. Paul writes to them, 1 Cor. v. 11, "Not to converse, not so much as to eat with him that is called a brother, and is a whoremaster, a slanderer, a cheater,

[s] Ἰδὼν δὲ σὺ τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα πικρανθεὶς κέλευσον αὐτὸν ἔξω βληθῆναι, καὶ ἐξελθόντι αὐτῷ πικραινέσθωσαν οἱ διάκονοι.—Const. Apost., lib. ii. cap. xvi.

Ἐὰν δέ τινα ἀμετανοήτως ἔχοντα βλέπῃς καὶ ἀπεσκληκότα, τότε μετὰ λύπης καὶ πένθους ἀνιάτως ἔχοντα, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπόκοπτε.—Const. Apost., lib. ii. cap. xlii. Labbei, tom. i. col. 280. ed. Venet.

[t] See Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 28.

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an idolater, a drunkard, an oppressor, or the like;" he that will may pretend to take this for no more but good counsel[u]: but he shall not consider what follows; "For what have I to do to judge those that are without? Do not ye judge those that are within? And ye shall heave out from among you him that hath done evil." Which good counsel will not serve to do; but censure or judgment, call it what you please; not as of a court pretending force to execute the sentence by virtue of the laws of the empire: but as every society or corporation, so far as it is so, hath a jurisdiction answerable to the end and pretence for which and upon which it stands, whereby the laws must be enforced, without which no such body can continue.

[Of jurisdiction absolute.]

§ 20. I grant that jurisdiction[x] absolutely named, and without any addition, is that of a civil state, which by force of lawful arms is able to execute the sentence which the ministers thereof give. But every state maintaineth the corporation which the charter thereof constituteth. And all Christian states are to maintain the corporation of the Church, if constituted by God. And in this regard, both the rules by which the community of the Church stands, are truly called laws, and the jurisdiction of the Church is the exercise of that power which executes the same. So ecclesiastical jurisdiction is really jurisdiction, though jurisdiction according to the Roman laws is resolved into the power of the sword, whereupon it dependeth.

§ 21. When St. Paul writes to Titus, iii. 10, "to avoid a man that is an heretic, after the first and second warning;" when St. John writeth, 2 John 10, 11, "He that cometh to you, and bringeth not this doctrine," of God the Father, and the Son come in the flesh, "receive him not home, nor bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is accessory to his evil works;" when St. John, according to this precept, refused to come into the bath with Cerinthus[y], his scholar Polycarpus to own Marcion otherwise than as the

[u] See chap. xi. sect. 7. and the extract from Selden, in the note m.

[x] Nec disciplinam quam sic exercebant revera in se jurisdictionem aut imperium habuisse dicendum—utpote quæ autoritate carebat publica—sed tantum ex pactis illis ac reverentia qualem diximus jurisdictionis ac imperii imitationem privatam.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. p. 163. Amstel. 1679.

[y] See chap. ix. sect. 26.

first-born of the devil; it is more than good counsel which tied them to forbear even civil conversation with those, whom thereby they demonstrated how far they would be from communicating with in the offices of Christianity.

[Notoriousness of sin renders it liable to ecclesiastical censures.]

§ 22. Neither is the objection[z] of that weight as is pretended, that Judas communicated in the Eucharist, at the last supper of our Lord. For it is notorious to all that understand but a little in Christianity, that it is not sin, but the notoriousness of sin, that renders a man liable to be excommunicate: even as it is not Christianity, but the profession of it that qualifies a man to be of the Church. The reason of it being this, that others may not think that such as notoriously act contrary to that profession, can be capable of the promises to which it entitleth. Which opinion cannot be grounded upon sins that are not publicly seen. For even when they are seen, there is yet a difference between legal conviction and that which is only sensible and reasonable. Neither is any man legally convicted, till he or they who are to act in behalf of the body, whatsoever it is, declare them convicted. For though it were to be wished that all notorious sin could be legally convicted, yet, because the execution of laws without discretion manifestly tends to the ruin of all societies, it is also to be excepted, that neither is the toleration of notorious sins in the Church a just argument that there is no such thing as law, or jurisdiction, or a community of the Church, that may put away such sin.

§ 23. To that case then, I say that neither the knowledge of our Lord, nor of His disciples, concerning Judas's wickedness, rendered him incapable of the Eucharist, even according

[z] Certe, quod ad sacros Christianorum conventus tunc attinet, eorumque interdictionem, Paulus ubi monet ne quis dein cœnam Domini caperet ἀναξίως ..... neminem reprehendit quod non arcuisset a cœna quenquam sic reum, sed tantum δοκιμαζέτω δὲ inquit ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὕτως 'probet autem homo' quilibet 'seipsum atque ita—seu secundum probationem illam atque conscientiæ examen cujus testis sufficiens esse potest solum Deus —' de pane illo comedat et de calice illo bibat.' Et graviter quidem ante increpat ipsos qui indigne aut ut non decuit ad cœnam accederent, nihil omnino interim de excommunicandis ejusmodi hominibus, aut de jurisdictione seu potestate ulla humana in ipsos, unde personæ aliqua status mutatio sequeretur, ideo exercenda adjiciens. ..... Accedat hic etiam et serio perpendatur, Judam ipsum, furem, proditorem, scelestissimum, hisque nominibus satis notum et publice peccantem in ipsa institutione, cum reliquis undecim, Sacramenti Eucharistiæ, juxta plerosque et Veterum et Recentiorum participem fuisse, nec omnino ea interdictum.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. viii. pp. 132, 133. Amstel. 1679.

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to the ordinary rule of the Church. A legal conviction was requisite over and above, which might either demonstrate him incapable of the quality of a disciple, that is, of a Christian, or be a means to reconcile him to that quality, and so to the society of Christ's disciples. And this conviction, absolutely depending upon the will of our Lord to publish the sentence, cannot be thought to be had, so long as He declared nothing in it.

§ 24. If any man here object the inconveniences which the peremptory prohibition of conversing with the excommunicate must needs cause in that state of things which the incorporating of the Church into Christian commonwealths necessarily produceth, let me desire him to have patience for an answer to this, which I shall have a care to give[a] before I leave this point, but cannot before I have premised something more. As for that which may be objected, that St. Paul, by saying, "Do not ye judge those that are within," makes the body of every Church, that is, the people thereof, or the commonalty, judge; it shall be sufficient to remember that which I said afore[b], that the intent at present being only to prove a corporation of the Church by divine right, it is sufficient in this place, only to shew that there is a right in the body of the Church, by God's appointment, to do such things as the nature of a society founded upon a charter of God's inferreth: for whatsoever persons shall be by the same appointment enabled to act for the Church, and to conclude it—as in no form of government the whole is able to act by itself—whatsoever is done by those persons is reasonably and legally said to be done by the Church, though I refer it to another dispute to determine what persons they are, and in what cases.

§ 25. These reasons therefore do satisfy me, that the delivering to Satan which St. Paul condemns the incestuous person to, implies indeed something extraordinary, which the sentence of excommunication in these days produceth not: and it is this; that during the time of the Apostles, to manifest the presence of God in His Church, those that were shut out of it became subject to the visible incursion of evil spirits,

[a] In book iii. chap. xxxii.

[b] Chap. xiv. sects. 20—25.

plaguing them with bodily diseases, which St. Paul calleth the destruction of the flesh[c]; intimating that God's end in them was, to reduce him to the sense of that Christianity which he had professed, that, by inwardly returning to it, the spirit might be saved in the day of Christ, whether or no, by outwardly professing it, he might be reconciled to the Church, for salvation by the means of it.

Telling the Church, binding and loosing, holding him that is bound for a heathen or a publican, signify the same.

§ 26. As for the words of our Lord, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, I will not insist upon the improbabilities of Erastus's interpretation[d], that, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican," is no more but this; Be it lawful for thee to sue him in the Romans' court. For this I say, it is plain by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 1, that our Lord's disciples, that is Christians, might in no case implead one another before the Gentiles, whatsoever Erastus imagine: which it is plain the Jews also did their utmost to avoid. Nor is the other more probable[e], that makes it no more than that upon his neglect of the synagogue, he was free to return scorn, and to avoid him who had scorned the synagogue. For would our Lord bind His disciples to resort to the synagogue, and yet obtain nothing but leave to scorn him that scorned them first, and afterwards the synagogue? Besides the inconvenience common to both these interpretations; that such a precept to His disciples, that is, to all Christians, should concern them no longer, nor in any other consideration, than that for which at the first Christians were bound to comply with the synagogue; which compliance, not only what it was, but even what it signified,

[c] Tradere autem Satanæ est precari Deum ut eum tradat in potestatem Satanæ, nempe ut per eum morbis vexetur; sic et 1 Tim. i. 20. Nam eam potestatem sicut interdum specialiter Satanas accipit ad tentandos pios ut Jobum ii. 4—7. et Paulum 2 Corinth. xii. 7. ita plerumque eam obtinet in eos qui profani cum sint, piis tamen accenseri volunt.—Grotii, Comm. in 1 Corinth. v. 4. p. 781. Londini, 1679. See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 19.

[d] Cited in Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 38. note p.

[e] Sonabant igitur ita de Ethnico verba, 'Sit tibi, qui Judæus es, tanquam incircumcisus' seu 'non ex circumcisis; sit tibi is perinde, ac si Judæus,' seu 'religionis Judaicæ non esset,' quantum scilicet ad consuetudinem et conversationem familiariorem amicitiamque conjunctiorem ac fraternam, atque in eum non minus libere age quam in Ethnicum aut publicanum ejusmodi qui te offendisset agere voluisses; ejusmodi scilicet apud te postea fruatur nec alia existimatione; seu esto tibi socius vilis ut ex Ebræis etiam notatur viris doctis. Nulla hic personæ conditionis ex sententia aliqua forensi mutatio præscribitur. Nihil omnino quod pœnam excommunicationis tunc in usu seu pristinæ libertatis, juxta superius dicta, per excommunicationem, diminutionem ullatenus redoleat.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. p. 155. Amstel. 1679.

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they then understood no more, than he that understand nothing.

[The Church a new kingdom.]

§ 27. But I leave all other advantage, to prosecute th principle premised: that the disciples of our Lord acknow ledged a new king of Israel—which, the title of God anointed, the Messias signified—a new covenant by whic He was their king, a new Israel according to the spirit, n according to the flesh, and, by consequence, new laws, whic a new commonwealth must needs infer. And therefore, ca it what you will, synagogue—which as yet they understoo not to be void—or Church—which they understood must b but that it should be distinct from the synagogue, understoo not—being commanded to tell the assembly, they mu understand it to be an assembly of themselves, Christ's di ciples, which all Jews might be, for any thing they y understood.

§ 28. And when our Lord saith, "Let him be unto th as a heathen man or as a publican," though they understoo that heathen men and publicans resorted to the temple, also those that were excommunicate by the synagogue did- because the law stood not upon any promise of the world come, but upon the privilege and title of a Jew, to all righ that Jews were endowed with—yet they understood als that our Lord spoke in parables, containing sharp speeche figures and riddles. When He saith, "He that smiteth th on the right cheek, turn him the left," they understood th Himself no way balked His own command, when, bein smitten by the Jews' ministers, He answered not by turnin the other cheek: but that His meaning was, to have H disciples as ready to do them good that so should affro them, as if they should pleasure his anger, by turning hi another cheek to strike. And when He saith, "He th constraineth thee to go a mile with him, go thou twain His meaning is not, that they should leave their business be counted fools for it; but be ready to do him as great pleasure.

§ 29. So he that sees the Jews so to avoid the society the Gentiles—and by consequence of publicans, who ha necessary and continual frequentation with Gentiles—th when they came from the piazza they washed their hands b

fore they went to meat—as polluted by coming near them—he that sees St. Peter obliged to give account to his brethren, the Jewish Christians, why he did eat with Cornelius and his company, though worshippers of the true God, and such as had embraced the faith; that sees God instruct him so to do, by the vision of eating unclean beasts, as if he could no more do the one than the other by the law; he, I say, that considers these things, will say, that our Lord, when He says, "Let him be to thee as a heathen man or a publican," hath very sharply expressed the same that St. Paul means, when he says, "with such a one no not to eat."

§ 30. And therefore I conclude His meaning to be that which I have concluded heretofore[f], that His disciples should carry none of their suits, though concerning matter of interest, out of the Church, but stand to what it shall determine. For how should St. Paul demand, "Dare any of you, having a cause with another, go to suit before the unrighteous and not before the saints?" 1 Cor. vi. 1, if it had not been a law known to Christians, that their suits were to be determined within themselves? Referring myself for further evidence, that this was then in force, to what hath been shewed in another place[g], and having not been contradicted, must needs be in force. And if any man shall object that this would be the ruin of all states so soon as they profess Christianity, if the jurisdiction of them should be swallowed up in the jurisdiction of the Church, all causes being, in that case, causes of Christians; for an answer, referring him not only to that which I have said already there, but to that which I purpose to say further[h] before I have done with this point.

§ 31. And upon these terms I grant Erastus, that when our Lord says, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican," He says in effect, Be it lawful for thee to sue him in the court of the Gentiles: not as if our Lord did allow that which St. Paul forbids; that a Christian should sue a Christian before Gentiles: but because, being to be held as a heathen or a publican, as being excommunicate—that is to say, supposing that to be true which Erastus would have to be false—by consequence, and in effect it would become

[f] Rel. Assembl., chap. iv. sect. 16.
[g] Right of the Church, chap. i. sects. 34, 40.
[h] Book iii. chap. xxxii.

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lawful to sue him before Gentiles, as being no longer Christian.

§ 32. Now when it followeth, "Whatsoever ye bind earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose earth shall be loosed in heaven;" if we take binding a loosing in a general sense, to signify the power of giving la so that hereby the Church is enabled to give law to t Church—setting aside, for the present, who of the Church to give law, who to receive it—then I say, that by virt hereof, the power of excommunicating is given to the Churc because it is nothing else but such a right established by law of God; and if God give His Church a power to ma laws, then He gives it power to make a law that shall gi force to all the rest, by enacting that penalty that shall requisite to restrain disobedience.

[Binding and loosing.]

§ 33. But[1] if we take the terms of binding and loosing they are used among the Jews—for declaring what is law or unlawful to be done, and by consequence, when th which is unlawful is done, for declaring what is to be done be discharged of it—I say that, admitting the difference b tween the law and the Gospel which I have established, t power of excommunicating will follow in the Church. F supposing the law not to tender remission of sin in order life everlasting, but to the temporal privileges of a Jew; to bound and to be loose will signify no more than to be in out of possession of those privileges, incapable or capable the same, by doing or not doing what the law requireth to done for that purpose.

§ 34. In the mean time, this power will argue a commo wealth of Israel, founded by God, by virtue of which found tion, the power of those who are enabled by the law to ma this declaration takes effect to all purposes contained in t law. But supposing the Gospel to tender remission of si in order to life everlasting, upon such terms as the covena of grace importeth; to be bound and to be loose will signi freedom from sin, or the captivity and servitude of it. A therefore the power of declaring this estate, and what is to

[1] The present text is here taken from MSS. It stood thus in the first edition;—"But if we take the terms of binding and loosing as they are used among the Jews, and by consequer when that which is unlawful is do for declaring what is lawful or unl to be done to be discharged of it

done for the attaining of it, will necessarily infer a society of the Church, founded upon the power of making that declaration, whereupon any man may be accepted for such; neither can it be imagined that any part, any degree of the same can be in any man, but so far, and to such effect, as the community of the Church shall have allowed.

[The power of giving law in the Church.]

§ 35. It is not now unknown, that divers of those that dispute controversies for the Church of Rome[k], do challenge the power of making law for the Church by virtue of this power of binding and loosing given by our Lord to His Apostles. And this opinion taketh place by the former interpretation of these words, which being admitted, that consequence cannot be refused. But taking the power of binding and loosing to be by virtue of the keys of God's house, which are the keys of David, or the house of David, the figure of the Church, which is that signification which the language of the Scripture requires when our Lord having promised His Church adds, Matt. xvi. 19, "Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven, whatsoever thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven:" the power of binding and loosing in the Church will be correspondent to that which the doctors of the synagogue had, of declaring this or that lawful or unlawful according to Moses's laws, and a man tied to do this or that for maintaining his privilege by it.

§ 36. And having said this, I conceive I have done more than he that distinguished these two meanings in our Lord's words thought fit to do. He, distinguishing thus in the first

[k] Dicet aliquis ex his omnibus solum probari, Petro datam esse potestatem universalem regendi Ecclesiam; non vero inde sufficienter probari datam fuisse illi potestatem leges ferendi, quia potuisset Christus unam potestatem dare sine alia. Respondeo utrumque convinci ex dictis. Primo quia verba Christi universalia fuere, *quodcunque ligaveris;* vinculum autem legum est unum ex præcipuis, quod supremus princeps injicere potest. Unde suprema potestas ligandi hunc etiam actum potissime comprehendit. Idem colligitur ex verbo illo, *pasce oves meas:* nam ad officium pastoris pertinet oves custodire, et dirigere, ac coercere, quod per leges maxime fit ab humano pastore. Præterea ex natura rei includitur hæc potestas in munere capitis et principis seu supremi pastoris. Et ideo etiam reges sæculi, eo ipso quod a republica ad illud munus eligantur, potestatem legislativam accipiunt; sed Petrus accepit simile munus et principatum spiritualem; ergo et potestatem legislativam—Major est naturaliter evidens, quia repugnat, esse superiorem, et gubernatorem, et non posse præcipere, et suo præcepto obligare subditum.—Suarez. de Legibus, lib. iv. cap. iii. § 2. p. 212. Londini, 1679.

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book *de Synedriis*, p. 291[m], hath thought it enough to argue that neither the one nor the other will serve to ground the power of excommunicating in the Church; wherein what he hath proved, I refer myself to that which hath been said. But in what sense the words of our Lord are to be understood, according to his own opinion, he hath not declared, how requisite soever it had been so to do, as I, according to my opinion, endeavour to do.

§ 37. As for that little objection[n], that in our Lord's words

[m] In quantum hæc sic dicta, quicquid omnino significaverint, ad alios præter Apostolos ipsos revera spectaverint, non erit hic disquirendi locus. Sed tantum an excommunicandi potestas sic omnino tradita fuerit aut firmata. Dupliciter hic consideramus voces illas δεῖν καὶ λύειν ligare et solvere . . . . . Originarius vocum usus est in eo quod corporum qualiumcunque invicem ligationem per fasces, catenas, funiculos, carceres, id genus alia sic ligandi instrumenta atque inde solutionem significat. Illinc tralatio variatim facta est. In jure quidem ita transfertur etiam ad actus hominum universos qui aut præstari, aut observari, sive faciendo sive abstinendo, aut subiri debeant, atque etiam ad universa juris sive divini sive humani capita, ... Etiam tam res quam personæ ligari seu obligari, ut pignora ac hypothecæ, dicuntur. Hinc vinculum juris, vinculum conjugii, id genus reliqua. . . . . .

Et similem sane in sensum uti videtur ipse Dominus voce δεσμεύειν, quod τῷ δεῖν synonymum est, et *ligare* pariter significat, idque apud Matthæum etiam—penes quem solum habetur hoc de ligandi et solvendi potestate, quicquid illud fuerit—ubi de scribarum et Pharisæorum doctrina, et legis sacræ interpretamentis cathedralicis verba faciens tam ad populum reliquum quam ad discipulos, δεσμεύουσι, inquit, ...

Hæc cum se ita habeant, par est ut existimemus aut priori ac universaliori illa ligandi ac solvendi notione—quantum ad jura ac officia hominum eorumque appendices; nam tralationes aliæ huc non spectant—aut posteriori atque augustiore illa atque Ebræis adeo peculiari voces illas a Domino sic apud Matthæum prolatas, esse sumendas. Certe, si posteriori, nihil omnino cum excommunicationis ac absolutionis actu habent commune, sic ad doctrinam et interpretationem magistralem tantum attinentes, ut palam est; neque aliter fere atque casuum quos vocamus conscientiæ, sive in concionibus, sive in commentariis aut scholis vulgares determinationes. . . . . Ita igitur ac in notione posteriori ad res tantum licitas et illicitas, non ad personas, nedum ad excommunicandi jus, voces ibi attinuere. Si vero notione sumantur priori, quæ adeo ampla est, et ad omnimodum sive res sive personas obligandi ac solvendi apud homines, id est, prohibendi, permittendi, imperandi, adeoque pœnas irrogandi, remittendi, idque ex jure sive divino sive humano id est universo, morem receptum, juxta naturam sui extenditur, permirum videbitur undenam sensus verborum adeo latæ ac diffusæ significationis eousque coangustaretur, ut tantillam solummodo sui partem ita retineret . . . . . Tantillam hic partem voco ipsum excommunicandi et absolvendi jus et actum ejusque qualescunque appendices.—Selden. lib. i. cap. ix. pp. 157—160. Amstel. 1679.

[n] Atque ita ad imperata ex legis interpretatione, res controversas definiendas quæstionesque solvendas, non ad personarum obligationem, adeoque nec ad excommunicationem locus ex ejus sensu attineret. Et quidem tum in verbis ad Petrum, tum in eis ad omnes simul, neutrum ὅ et ὅσα *quicquid* et *quæcunque*, non ὅν et ὅσους *quemcunque* et *quoscunque* ligaveritis, usurpatur. Sed verum quidem est, neutro genere posse etiam personas contineri.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. p. 159. Amstel. 1679. Du Moulin. Paræn., cap. xi. p. 249. brings forward this objection out of Daniel Tilenus, Disp. *de Potest. Jurisdict. Eccles.*, disp. i. Thes. 18. who makes it in these words; Cum Christus, Matth. xviii. 18. de peccato potius quam de peccatore loquatur ubi patet, Johan.

it is not persons but things that are said to be bound and loose; it is to be understood that things are neither bound nor loose of themselves; but that by the way of common understanding of men and speech, it is attributed to them from the obligations that lie upon men or persons, by virtue of which obligations, or freedom from them, such things as they import are said to be bound or loose, as lawful or unlawful for them to use, who, using them, are either bound or free to such rights as the using or not using of them infers. Though by consequence of this power, the power of binding by law, or loosing,—that is, of leaving free without tying by law—will naturally follow.

[The chief authority of all bodies lodged in some individuals.]

§ 38. For as in civil government, whatsoever person or persons are absolutely and without limitation endowed with the sovereign power, must necessarily be endowed with the power of giving law, whereby they do but limit themselves what law they will govern by, which is, before those laws be declared, their will and pleasure; so, if we suppose in the Church, a power of admitting into, and casting out of the society of the Church, we must needs suppose a power of giving law to this society, because no society at all can have communion with itself, but according to some rules of exercising the said communion, which for the present are called laws. Now our Lord Christ, having given His disciples the
140 power of binding and loosing, by opening or shutting the doors of His Church, that is, by admitting into, or excluding out of it, hath thereby given them the power of framing His Catholic Church.

§ 39. Not that they are so properly said to bind those whom they shut out of the Church; for when Christianity declareth mankind to be under sin—not to be freed of it, but by submitting to Christianity—the bond is contracted by him that sinneth, the shutting of the Church door upon him is but refusing him the cure, whereof he renders himself incapable. But those whom they admit into the Church, they are properly said to loose, because, though they cannot be loosed without their own act, yet that act is not to be done without

xx. 23. etiam ipsius administros ita distinguere par est. Nam peccatum sic ligandum est, ut pereat: homo autem ita ligatur, ut tandem servetur, et a peccati nexu exolvatur.—Syntagmatis Tripertiti Disp. Theologic. in Academia Sedanensi, habitarum pp. 602, 603. Genevæ, 1622.

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submitting to that authority which is entrusted to requir
And this authority, with those who acknowledge it by be
admitted into the Church, is that which constituteth
society and corporation of the Church. For admitting i
the Church, and allowing to continue in the Church, are b
one and the same act, because they proceed both upon
same terms of Christianity, and preserving unity in
Church. Therefore at present I speak of both under one.

[Binding and loosing.]

§ 40. And if it be demanded whether the power of bind
and loosing do signify generally binding by law, and
hindering; or particularly, binding, by shutting out of
Church for sin, and loosing, by admitting into the Church
retaining in the Church as free from sin; I answer, that
pressly and formally, the power of binding and loosing sig
fies the latter; but the former, by consequence. For in
commonwealth also, the power of giving law is the same
generals, with the power of jurisdiction in particulars;
parts of sovereignty flowing naturally from that act, wher
it becomes settled upon some person or persons, whose wil
necessarily the law whereby it is to be governed, inasmuch
it is not limited by the original establishment thereof, and a
done legally by virtue of the same. And so the disciples
our Lord being prevented by nothing but our common Ch
tianity—which our Lord Christ having established, left th
the framing of His Church—what they, or those who cla
under them shall do to oblige the Church, obligeth by vir
of this power, of admitting into, or excluding out of
Church. And it is truly said that the power of giving l
to the Church, as the Church, by virtue of the power of
keys belongs to the Church; provided that the effect of
be limited to those things which, after the preaching of
Lord, remained for His Apostles and disciples, as well as th
assistants and successors to determine, for the framing
God's Catholic Church.

The coherence of our Lord's discourse.

§ 41. Before I leave this point, I shall desire that the co
sequence of our Lord's discourse may be considered. I
unless the command of resorting to the Church be underst
as tending to bind or loose him to the Church, that is su
posed to be bound to sin or loose from it, that which
inferred, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth," will be utte

impertinent to that which went before, "Tell the Church"—But if we suppose the speech to concern excommunication and penance, by consequence, we give a good reason why it follows, "Again, I say unto you, that if two of you agree upon earth about any thing to be demanded, it shall befall them from My Father in the heavens." For supposing—as known by the general and original practice of the Church, whereof mention hath been made in the premises—that the means of loosing from sin was the prayers of the Church, we conclude, that our Lord, in the next place, could not infer any thing more proper and pertinent to that which He had premised, than this; to wit, how the penitent is to be restored to the favour of God, and upon presumption thereof, to the unity of the Church: to wit, by the prayers of the Church. For when He says the prayers of two Christians will be available with God, He must needs signify that the prayers of the Church will be much more available.

§ 42. I know there are some expositors, Origen[o], St. Augustine[p], and Theophylact[q] of old, and Grotius[r] of late, who when our Lord having said, "Let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican," inferreth, "whatsoever ye bind on earth," do understand, that hereby particular Christians do

[o] Δικαίως γὰρ ἔδησεν ὁ τρὶς νουθετήσας, καὶ μὴ ἀκουσθεὶς τὸν κριθέντα εἶναι ὡς ἐθνικὸν καὶ τελώνην· διόπερ ὁ τοιοῦτος δεδεμένος καὶ δεδικασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιουδὶ, μένει δεδεμένος, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀναλύοντος τοῦ δεδηκότος αὐτὸν τὴν ψῆφον. . . . . Πλὴν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω μονῷ τῷ Πετρῷ δεδομένα ἔοικε δηλοῦσθαι δεδωκέναι πᾶσι τοῖς τὰς τρεῖς νουθεσίας προσαγάγουσι πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, ἵν ἐὰν μὴ ἀκουσθῶσι, δήσωσιν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν κριθέντα εἶναι ὡς ἐθνικὸν, καὶ τελώνην ὡς δεδεμένον τοῦ τοιούτου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.—Comment. in S. Matth. tom. xiii. § 31. tom. iii. p. 613. ed. Ben.

[p] Cœpisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum, ligas illum in terra; sed ut juste alliges, vide. Nam injusta vincula disrumpit justitia. Cum autem correxeris et concordaveris cum fratre tuo, solvisti illum in terra. Cum solveris in terra, solutus erit et in cœlo. Multum præstas, non tibi, sed illi: quia multum nocuit, non tibi, sed sibi. —Serm. lxxxii. de verbis Evangel. Matth. xviii. cap. vi. tom. v. coll. 442, 443. ed. Ben.

[q] Ἐὰν σὺ, φησὶν, ἀδικηθεὶς ἔχῃς ὡς τελώνην καὶ ἐθνικὸν τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, ἔσται καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τοιοῦτος, ἐὰν δὲ λύσῃς αὐτὸν, τούτεστι, συγχωρήσῃς, ἔσται καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ συγκεχωρημένος· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὅσα λύουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰσὶ λελυμένα, ἀλλ' ὅσα καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀδικηθέντες ἢ δεσμοῦμεν ἢ λύομεν, κἀκεῖνα ἔσται δεδεμένα ἢ λελυμένα.—Comm. in S. Matth. xviii. 18. p. 106. Lutet. Paris. 1635.

[r] Neque mirum nobis videri debet *solvere* hoc et *ligare* Christianis singulis tribui. Nam si hæc eadem et Christi tribuuntur et pastoribus, servata proportionis ratione, quidni extendi possent ad singulos eadem ratione servata? Nam et σώζειν, *salvum facere*, quod modo Christo modo pastoribus tribuitur, videmus et singulis tribui eodem de quo hic agitur sensu Jacobi v. 20. *Ligat* igitur qui alterum culpæ convincit; *solvit*, qui eum rectis monitis ad pœnitentiam perducit, atque etiam pro ipso Deum precatur, ut sequentia declarant.—Comm. in S. Matth. xviii. 18. p. 177. Londini, 1679.

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bind and loose particular Christians, when they shew th the sin they do, and they that do it will or will not m reparations[s]. And truly, inasmuch as the knowledge of is a condition requisite to make the bond thereof take hold upon the conscience, whosoever procures this knowle is truly said to bind, as he that shews the means of be loose is truly said to loose him that useth those means.

§ 43. But if this were here meant, there were no rea why our Lord should send him to the Church, whom declares to be thus bound, which this opinion suppose never dreaming of the synagogue, when our Lord saith, " the Church[t]." For to say that a private Christian bin or looseth him whom the Church hath first declared to b the wrong, and not otherwise, is as much as to say th private Christian neither binds nor looses, but the Chu not because he cannot bind and loose before God in sense which I spoke of afore, but because he cannot bin loose any man as to the Church, whom the Church bound afore, by declaring his sin.

§ 44. For this opinion supposeth that when our L saith, " Whatsoever ye bind on earth," He speaketh of sins of those who had refused to hear the Church afore. W being supposed, it will remain manifest that when our L saith, " Let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican," im diately adding, " Whatsoever ye bind on earth," He doth only teach what the wronged party, but what every Chris

[s] Cardinal Bellarmine explains these opinions as follows;—Et quidem Origenes in commentario hujus loci contendit, non tradi hoc loco ecclesiasticam potestatem, sed correptionem fraternam commendari, atque eum hoc loco solvere, qui admonitione sua caussa est, ut peccator resipiscat, et per debitam pœnitentiam solvatur a vinculis peccatorum, eum autem ligare, qui denunciatione sua caussa est, ut peccator habeatur tanquam ethnicus et publicanus. Sed ibidem addit Origenes, non esse idem, quod hoc loco habetur, cum eo quod habetur Matth. xvi. quæ Origenis explicatio non videtur admodum probabilis, tamen ex ea satis aperte colligitur, Origenem Lutheranis nullo modo favere.

Alia est expositio Theophylacti, qui existimat verba Domini dirigi ad eos, qui injuriam patiuntur, eos aute gare, dum injuriam retinent, s dum remittunt, quæ sententia n usque adeo vera; nam vel qui inj accipit, remittit pœnitenti, vel no nitenti; Si primum, tunc erit q ille solutus in cœlo, sed non pro quod iste remittat, nam etiamsi remittere, esset ipse solutus in Si secundum, tunc non est solut cœlo, quem iste solvit in terris, idem de alligatione dici potest. Q vis autem vera esset sententia, tamen officeret causæ nostræ. C est enim Petro aliquid datum, ut remittat injurias sibi factas. Romano Pontifice, lib. i. cap. xi 555. Colon. 1620.

[t] Εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, id est, gogæ.—Salmas. Appar. ad Lib Primatu, p. 249. Lugd. Batav. 1

is to do; to wit, what the acts of the Church oblige him to do as a Christian and one of the Church, not as one that is wronged, though the discourse, rising upon this case, "if thy brother wrong thee," end in the mention of him alone, "let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican;" because of the reason which follows, grounded in the power of binding and loosing, which all Christians are to acknowledge.

Of excommunication and indulgence by private persons in the ancient Church.

§ 45. These things being proved, I will here repeat, and insist upon, that observation which heretofore I have advanced in another place[u], that our Lord—Whom, from the premises, I suppose to treat here of communication—forbids that course to be held in the Church which then was used in the synagogue, namely, that private persons should excommunicate one another; the effect of such excommunications reaching no further than themselves, or their inferiors, and not obliging any stranger to take such a person for excommunicate. Which observation I oppose to an argument[x] made from that which

[u] Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sectt. 5, 6.

[x] Sed vero absolutionis illius Judaicæ ac pristinæ, quantum sive ad personarum, qui absolverent, qualitatem, sive ad breviusculum nec ita publicum pœnitendi modum spectat, vestigia seculis in his, maxime sub Tertulliani et Cypriani tempora, ita apud aliquos sanctitatis nomine etiam tunc celebres supererant, ut inde sane jure existimandum videatur etiam excommunicationis pristinæ, seu quæ in Judaismo et Apostolorum temporum Christianismo adhiberi solita, quod personas—excommunicandi facultatem habentes—usum illos retinendum voluisse. Nam qui absolutionis morem pristinum sic retinere volebant, non est quod non existimemus quin excommunicationis itidem pristinum voluerint sic retinendum: utcunque Episcopis, præsidibus aliisque tunc novam et a pristina adeo diversam regiminis inter se suosque formam introducentibus aliter placuerit. Vestigia, quæ diximus, habentur tam apud Tertullianum quam Cyprianum, testes exceptione omni majores atque horum temporum in occidente maximos. Lapsis in idololatriam aliterve, qui ideo communione ab Episcopo pulsi sunt, pacem seu postliminium, id est, absolutionem dederunt presbyteri et diaconi quibus satis pœnitentes visi sunt ejusmodi lapsi, et cum illis communicabant Eucharistiam, non expectatis pœnitentiæ gravioris solemnibus aut Episcopi sententia ac manuum—quæ in usu item nunc erat quoties absolutio ab eo præstaretur—impositione. Martyres item designati et confessores communione sic pulsorum absolutioni, si pœniterent, se impares tunc non credidere. Pacem et postliminium ipsi soli eis reddebant, libellisque ea de re ad Episcopos cum fiducia datis, eos in communionem admittendos judicabant quos sic absolverant. Libellis autem nunc nomina absolutorum singula inserebant, nunc totas familias patrum tantum familiarum nominibus adjectis, ut communicet talis cum suis; quasi non omnino dubitassent, quin absolvendi ipsis jus jam competeret, quale Triumviris illis, aliisve cœtibus, aut judici publice constituto unico in Judaismo et vetustiore inter Christianos absolvendi more, de quo ante toties dictum est. Luculentissima sunt apud Cyprianum et compluria hac de re testimonia in quibus eminet illud de familiarum integrarum absolutione uti et hoc universorum confessorum ad Cyprianum aliosque Episcopos. 'Scias nos universis de quibus apud te ratio constiterit, quod post commissum egerint, dedisse pacem, et hanc formam per te et aliis Episcopis innotescere volumus.' Verum quidem est hoc Cypriano aliisque disciplinam, ut vocarunt, tunc in

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was used in the primitive Church, for martyrs and confes
in bonds for the Gospel, to restore to the communion of
Church those that were under penance. Tertull. *de Pu*
xxii.[y]; *ad Martyras*, i.[z]; Cyprian, *Epist.*, x. xi. xii. xiii.
xv. xvii. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. xxxviii.[a]; and John, the m
of the deserts of Egypt, having excommunicated the youn
Theodosius[b], he was not satisfied with the Bishop's absolut
until the monk had done the same. Hence it is argued[c], t
excommunication in the Church was the same that had b
practised in the synagogue, because private Christians u
that power, as private Jews had done.

[Absolution granted by confessors,]

§ 46. The answer is easy to him that will observe the
son of such excommunication and absolution in the Chu
There were in the Church from the beginning, beside th
who had the chief authority of governing it, divers rank
persons of special esteem: the rank of widows, honou

Hierarchia usitatiorem enixe sibi tuentibus mirum in modum displicuisse, quod ex integris epistolis ab eo ea de re scriptis satis constat. At vero tempore illo novum hoc non erat. Nam etiam apud Tertullianum, seu sub annum Christi 200, reperitur velut in morem haud parum etiam ex antiquitate tunc pristina receptum. Postquam pacem a martyribus impetrarant facinorosi qualescunque, 'inde communicatores, inquit ille' revertuntur. Et alibi 'pacem quidam in ecclesia non habentes a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt.' Ita in consuetudinem etiam tunc abiverat.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. pp. 144, 145. Amstel. 1679.

[y] Alii ad metalla confugiunt, et inde communicatores revertuntur, ubi jam aliud martyrium necessarium est delictis post martyrium novis.—P. 1014. ed. Pam.

[z] Quam pacem quidam in Ecclesia non habentes, a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt.—P. 191. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[a] These letters of St. Cyprian, and the passages from Tertullian, are referred to by Selden in the passage recited in the preceding note. They are too long for insertion.

[b] *Ἀνήρ τις, ἀσκητικὸν μὲν ἀσπαζόμενος βίον, θρασυτέρᾳ δὲ χρώμενος γνώμῃ, προσελήλυθε τῷ βασιλεῖ περί τινος δεόμενος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο δράσας πολλάκις οὐκ ἔτυχε, τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τὸν δεσμὸν θεὶς ὑπεχώρησεν. ὁ δὲ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντος εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ τῶν συσσίτων παρόντων, οὐκ ἔφη πρὶν λυθῆναι τὸν δεσμὸν, μετασχεῖν τροφῆς. καὶ τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν οἰκειότατον ἔπεμψε, παρακαλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ δεδωκότι τὸν δεσμὸν διαλῦσαι· τοῦ δὲ ἐπισκόπου φήσαντος μὴ χρῆναι παρὰ παντὸς ὁτουοῦν δέχεσθαι τὸν δεσμὸν, καὶ δεδηλωκότος ὡς λέλυται οὐκ ἔδεξατο τὴν λύσιν, ἕως ὁ δήσας πολλῷ τῷ πόνῳ ζητηθεὶς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀπέδωκεν.* — Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. xxxvii. p. 242. Mog. 1679.

[c] Imo invaluit apud nonnullos, que non raro, sententia, quemlibet dinis ecclesiastici excommunicandi buisse, etiam sine figura judicii fore potestatem, quemadmodum e v quemlibet apud Judæos; qua d superius monitum. Inde Theodos juniorem excommunicavit mona quidam. Nec se solutione non e existimavit imperator, utcunque communicationem ejusmodi nihili isse ei assereret Episcopus Const nopolitanus, qui etiam eum solu pronuntiabat. Sed solutione ejus non contentus imperator, ab Epis impetravit ut potestas solvendi a monacho fieret, qui magno cum la conquisitus, tandem eum absolv Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. ca pp. 171, 172. Amstel. 1679.

with public maintenance from the Church, as we understand by St. Paul's orders, 1 Tim. v. 3—16; the rank of virgins, the prerogative whereof we may understand by Tertullian's book, *de Virginibus Velandis*[d], wherein he disputes whether they were privileged against St. Paul's order, 1 Cor. xi. 5—15, of "veiling their faces in the church." Of the rank of martyrs and confessors—that is, those who had abandoned themselves to whatsoever the profession of Christianity should infer, howsoever they escaped—I need say nothing; the esteem of them being known to have been such, that it is no marvel if their desire or their sentence were counted a prejudice or prerogative to the Church. As thus: at the elections of the Roman magistrates, the century or the tribe that voted first was counted to have a prerogative, the vote thereof being a kind of prejudice to them that followed to vote the same. So that it was found that whoso carried this prerogative, commonly carried the whole vote.

§ 47. Such was the effect of that absolution which confessors in their durance did sometimes grant penitents in the
142 primitive Church; to wit, a confidence, grounded upon the esteem of their merit towards Christianity, that their act would not be made void by the body of the Church. Whereupon St. Cyprian, *Epist.* xii.[e]: *Qui libellos a martyribus acceperunt, et prærogativa eorum apud Deum adjuvari possunt;* "Those who have received billets from the martyrs, and may find help before God by their prerogative." The monk's excommunication proceeded upon the same ground; that is to say, upon a confidence, that whom he by that sentence declared to have forfeited the communion of the Church in his judgment, those who had his holiness in esteem would not communicate with. The emperor's proceeding shews it was not for nothing: who, being absolved by the ordinary, rested not content till he had satisfied the monk[f]. The reason, because even then it might be evident that the preservation of unity in the Church obliged to grant the com-

[allowed by the Church under the circumstances.]

[d] Proprium jam negotium passus meæ opinionis, Latine quoque ostendam, virgines nostras velari oportere, ex quo transitum ætatis suæ fecerint. Hoc exigere veritatem, cui nemo præscribere potest, non spatium temporum, non patrocinia personarum, non [illegible] legium regionum.—Cap. i. p. 309. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

[e] P. 22. ed. Ben.

[f] "Because for avoiding mischief absolution was granted where the party appeared not qualified. The emperor rested not in it."—MSS.

BOOK I.

munion thereof to such, as there was no reasonable assu
that God's pardon did go before it; which, otherwise,
restoring of that communion ought to suppose. Which n
move a tender conscience to do more than the Church enj
him to do.

[Effect of it.]

§ 48. But I intend not hereby to justify matters of fa
the primitive Church: it shall serve my turn to argue,
the reason inferred appears not by this practice, be
another reason doth appear. Only I say further, that no
of primitive institution can be argued from a custom w
they that relate it, Tertullian and St. Cyprian, do mar
an abuse, tending either to abate the severity of disciplir
to dissolve the unity of the Church. And therefore, he
observes all this must not forget to observe the reasons wh
St. Cyprian protests that the courses whereby those o
time went about to force the consent of the Church b
credit of the martyrs, were seditious, Ep. ix. and xxii.[g];
also the course that he takes to refer the matter to the d
and common sentence of other Churches, equally conce
in the cause, Ep. xvii.[h] For to have recourse to the
of the Church to cure the distemper of a particular Ch
had been against common sense for him that had not k
that those whom he had to do with acknowledged the s
and that being acknowledged, it will be more against
mon sense to imagine that martyrs or confessors of one Ch

[g] Sed cum quorumdam immoderata et abrupta præsumptio temeritate sua et honorem martyrum et confessorum pudorem et plebis universæ tranquillitatem turbare conetur, tacere ultra non oportet, ne ad periculum et plebis pariter et nostrum taciturnitas nimia procedat. Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini quando aliqui de presbyteris nec evangelii nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vindicent.—P. 18. ed. Ben.

Denique hujus seditionis origo jam cœpit. Namque in provincia nostra per aliquot civitates in præpositos impetus per multitudinem factus est, et pacem quam semel cuncti a martyribus et confessoribus datam clamitabant confestim sibi repræsentari coeg territis et subactis præpositis sui ad resistendum minus virtute an robore fidei prævalebant.—Pp. 3 ed. Ben.

[h] Legi autem et universorum fessorum literas, quas voluerun me collegis omnibus innotescere eos pacem a se datam perveni quibus apud nos ratio constiteri post commissum egerint. Qu cum omnium nostrum consiliu sententiam expectes, præjudicar et soli mihi rem communem vin non audeo. Et ideo instetur in epistolis quas ad vos proxime fec quarum exemplum collegis q multis jam misi; qui rescrip placere sibi quod statuimus nec recedendum esse donec pace no Domino reddita in unum conveni singulorum causas examinare mus.—Pp. 26, 27. ed. Ben.

could give law to the whole; as they must do, if we suppose that absolution granted by them in the Church of Carthage was of itself of force and valid, which, by the same right and title must extend to all that were in the same case.

That excommunication and the power of the Church could not come in force by the voluntary consent of the first Christians.

§ 49. But there remains a second reason or plea, how a communion of the Church might be, and so a power to excommunicate—and, by consequence, other rights in which it hath been shewed[i], and that the society of the Church subsisted before Constantine—without any title of divine right, which princes and states professing Christianity are bound to maintain. For it is alleged[k] that excommunication, and penance which is the abatement of it, was in force in the primitive Church, by virtue of the voluntary consent of Christians confederating themselves, upon such terms as we find to have been in use, into a discipline taken up of their own free resolution; which, by consequence, must be said of the rest of those rights, wherein the communion of the Church, and the unity thereof, did consist at that time. To which I must except generally in the first place, that this plea, whether true or false for the present, is not receivable so much as into consideration, until it be qualified and limited, so that it may be consistent with the former now refuted; for no man can pretend to advance such a plea for his cause as consists of two parts, whereof the first destroys the second.

§ 50. Now, it was pretended afore[l], that there was no

[i] Chap. vi. sect. 5; chap. xi. sects. 1—5.

[k] Qualiscunque autem argumentorum ex sacro sermone sic adductorum vis, ante ejusmodi conjunctionem, in excommunicationis jure firmando apud scriptores illos pauculos haberetur; id interim manifestum est, ex confederata, qualem inter Christianos etiam temporum Apostolicorum fuisse capite superiori ostendimus; disciplina, jus excommunicationis uti et alia inter eos recepta, potissimum etiam tunc pependisse. Propagata est ejusmodi confederatio ex Apostolicis illic temporibus in hæc quæ jam tractamus. Nimirum in coitionibus et cœtibus seu Ecclesiis Christianorum curiæ formam induentibus, quibus tempore hoc, quo Christianismus nondum cum summa potestate ullibi conjunctus; nec jurisdictio Christianis publice ulla permissa est, ex pactis inter se, ut ante, initis fideique servandæ professione invicem facta, tum imperium qualecunque ac jurisdictio—seu potius quod et imperii et jurisdictionis figuram imitaretur—et obedientia præstabatur; adeoque inde excommunicationi, secundum pactorum ac professionis ejusmodi vim ac sensum, parebatur, ac pœnitentiæ in absolutionem incommoda jam etiam gravissima subibantur.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. p. 161. Amstelædam. 1679.

[l] Atque verum proculdubio est, Christianos primitivos suam voluisse adhibere excommunicationem ad facinorosos, et qui Christianismi jura turbarent, qua potuerint, coercendos ut Judæi seu nondum credentes ex Judæis ad suos coercendos habebant suam. Sed ita distinguenda sunt tempora illa primitiva ut non admittamus excommunicationis Christianæ usum, per Apostolorum tempora, similem omnino

BOOK I.

excommunication in use under the Apostles, but that w
was in force in the synagogue, by virtue of Moses's law,
the power erected by it of introducing such penalties as
maintenance thereof should require. And here it is
tended, that excommunication and other effects of ecc
astical power came in force upon the voluntary agreemer
Christians. Therefore the whole plea, if you will hav
hang together, must be this; that the whole body of Cl
tians did voluntarily agree among themselves to receive
excommunication which was in force by virtue of the
and, by consequence, such other rights already in force
virtue of the law, as they agreed to be no less useful for m
taining the communion of the Church, than they fo
excommunication to be. And on these terms I admit
two parts of this plea not to be inconsistent. For the e
of the whole will be this; that there was indeed a society
corporation of one visible Church, from the beginning
Christianity to Constantine, such as I now challenge
there ought to be: but not by any order of the Apostles
title of divine right, but by the free consent of all Christi
which, being the consent of subjects, and subsisting by
ferance of the sovereign, resolves into his will when he ple
to seize it into his hands.

§ 51. But then I will appeal to the common reason o
men, whether it be consistent therewith in two regards.
first shall be that which I alleged before[m] out of Irena
whether it be consistent with common sense to imagine
neither the Churches planted in the German provinces
Spanish or Gaulish, of the Roman empire, nor those in

fuisse ei qui postmodum in sæculis etiam proxime sequentibus apud Christianos inolevit. Ab Judaica enim haud parum dispar hæc erat. Sed ita sane rivuli, scaturigines, propagines, non raro aliter ac aliter ab originibus suis ac fontibus, atque a causarum primariarum satisque indubitatarum ratione pariter evadunt diversæ et degenerant, qualitatibus nihilominus et naturæ primariæ reliquiis aliquot ac vestigiis semper servatis. Qua de re plura capite proximo. Quod vero ad Apostolorum tempora attinet—quæ primo hic tractanda—profecto credendum non omnino videtur in Christianismo tunc alias fuisse excommunicationis sp
seu gradus, quam qualis ipsius Jud
tunc temporis atque ante; id est,
dui et *Cherem* seu separationem et
thema, quo nomine utraque specie
gradus interdum designatur, juxt
perius ostensa. Apostolos enim
reliquosque discipulos qui aut,
Christus in terris, aut per aliquot
nos post ascensionem ejus acces
ex Judæis fuisse omnes, adeoque
dæos, palam est, ritibusque Jud
seu avitis innutritos adsuetosq
Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i.
viii. pp. 110, 111. Amstel. 1679.

[m] Chap. x. sect. 4.

East, nor in Egypt or Africa, nor in those that were planted in the middle parts of the world, should practise or observe otherwise than the communion, which *de facto* I have already shewed to have been maintained among them, did require; and all this have no other beginning than their own free and voluntary consent, prevented by no obligation at all, but the dictate of common reason pronouncing what would be best for the maintenance of that common Christianity to which we suppose them obliged.

§ 52. If there were no more in question but the uniting of seven persons into one of our independent congregations[n]—or as many more as may all hear any man preach at once—I should grant that such bodies might subsist for such a time as the common hatred of the Church restrains the peevishness of particular persons, from breaking that communion which no tie of conscience obliges them to maintain. But if the experience of divers years hath not brought forth any union betwixt any two such congregations in England, so far as I can learn, what was it that united all Christians from east to west into that one communion visibly distinguished from all heresies and schisms, which till about the council of Chalcedon remained inviolable, supposing no obligation of our common Christianity delivered by the Apostles to maintain it.

[The corporation must be by divine right.]

§ 53. Is it possible for any man to imagine that, with one consent, they would have cast themselves into such a form of observation and practice, as all to acknowledge the direction of the same persons in several parts; to acknowledge those rules which generally were the same—though, in matters of less moment, differing in several parts—to entertain or refuse communion with them that were entertained or refused by the Church wherein they dwelt for a common cause, had

[n] "And therefore such parishes as consist of 15,000, though they were all fit materials for Church-fellowship, yet ought to be divided into many Churches, as too large for one. When the hive is too full, bees swarm into a new hive; so should such excessive numbers of Christians issue forth into more Churches. Whence it appeareth to be an error, to say there is no limitation or distinction of parishes, meaning, of Churches, *jure divino*, for though a precise quotient, a number of hundreds and thousands be not limited to every Church, yet such a number is limited as falleth not below seven, nor riseth above the bulk of one congregation, and such a congregation, wherein all may meet, and all may hear, and all may partake, and all may be edified together." — Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. iii. sect. 1. p. 54. London, 1645. See chap. vi. sect. 17.

BOOK I. there been nothing but their own fancy to tell them, not only what was requisite to entertain such communion, but whether it were requisite to entertain such communion or not? If such a thing should be said, the process of my discourse were never a whit the more satisfied, unless somebody could shew me how the truth of Christianity can be well grounded upon those motives, the evidence whereof resolves into the consent of all Christians; and yet that which all Christians have visibly made a law to their conversation from the beginning, to wit, the communion of one Catholic Church, not belong at all to the matter of our common Christianity.

§ 54. And therefore this plea is no less ruinous to our common Christianity, the ground whereof it undermineth, than to common sense[o]. For that, in such difference of judgments as mankind is liable to, the whole Church should be swayed to unanimity herein by the prerogative, as it were, of the synagogue, uniting themselves by embracing the ordinances thereof, the evident state of the times, whereof we speak, will not admit to any pretence of probability; the division between Jews and Christians being then advanced to such a hatred on the Jews' part, that it would have been a very implausible cause to say that Christians ought to follow the Jews, whose curses they heard every day, whose persecutions they felt in the tortures which, at their instance, were inflicted by the Gentiles. A thing so evident, both by the writings of the Apostles and the most ancient records of the Church, that I will not wrong the reader's patience to prove it. True it is, that at times and in places, great compliance was used by Christians to gain them, who, elsewhere, were so ready to persecute their fellow-Christians. As at Jerusalem under and after St. James[p], at Ephesus and in Asia under St. John, there is great appearance to believe.

§ 55. In the mean time, he that can make a question whether the separation between Jews and Christians, and the hatred ensuing upon it, were formed under the Apostles must make a question of the truth of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, to the Colossians, to the Philippians, to Titus

[o] "For if it should be said that the precedent of the synagogue might bring it in."—MSS.

[p] "While the Bishops were of the circumcision, according to Eusebius."—MSS.

and especially that to the Hebrews. Beside that, during the time whereof Irenæus speaks, Christianity was extended so far beyond Judaism, that a great part of the Church could not be acquainted with the conversation of the Jews, much less learn and embrace their orders. And therefore, as I do admit and embrace the diligence of those learned men who bestow their pains to shew how the rules and customs of the Church are derived from those of the synagogue, so I prescribe one general prejudice concerning all orders that may appear to be so derived, that they are all, to the Church, traditions of the Apostles, and by their act came in force in it[q]: and that upon the premises, that neither they had any force from the law of Moses, nor could be admitted by common consent of Christians after the separation was formed, that is, after the Apostles' time; and therefore by their authority were introduced into the Church.

How it may be said to be voluntary.

§ 56. Having excepted thus much, it will, notwithstanding, be time to distinguish that the orders and customs and observations of the Church may be said to be voluntary, as nothing is more voluntary than Christianity itself, though there be nothing to which a man is so much obliged. For though the will of God and our salvation, and whatsoever God hath done to shew that salvation depends upon Christianity, oblige us to it, yet they oblige us also to embrace it voluntarily, so that whatsoever should be done in respect of it, without an inward inclination of the will, would be abominable. In which regard, whatsoever our Christianity obliges us to is no less voluntary than it is.

§ 57. And, in this sense, I grant that the confederation of common discipline, which prevailed in the primitive Church, was by the free and voluntary consent of Christians, who, by freely and voluntarily consenting to the profession of Christianity, consented freely to maintain the communion of the Church, which they knew to belong to that profession as a part of it. But then this consent, which is voluntary in regard that the choice of Christianity is free, becomes necessary upon the obligation of making good the Christianity which once we have professed; the communion of the Church, professed by all, obliging every one for his part to maintain it. So,

[q] See chap. xvi. sect. 12.

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when Pliny reports to Trajan of the Christians, Ep. x. 9 *Solitis .... seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem lerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent;* "That they w wont to tie themselves by a sacrament to commit no th robberies, or adulteries, not to fail of their faith, or deny which was deposited in their trust being demanded:" i manifest that all this is the profession of all Christi and that the Sacrament of baptism is properly the vow observing it.

§ 58. And though I dispute not here that the Eucharis called a Sacrament, and as *Sacramentum* in Latin signifie oath, yet, inasmuch as it is the meaning of the Sacramen baptism, I conceive I understood[s] not Pliny amiss, whe conceived that he speaks in this place of the Eucharist, w he reports that they were wont before day to sing psalms praise of Christ as God, and to tie themselves to the particu he names by a Sacrament. And the same Tertullian unc stood by Pliny, when he says he reports to Trajan, *Apo* ii.[t], *Præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se sacramentis*—as Heraldus[u] truly reads it—*eorum comperi quam cœtus antelucanos, ad canendum Christo et Deo, et confederandam disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium, fraud perfidiam, et cætera scelera prohibentes;* "That he had covered nothing of their Sacraments" or mysteries, "bes obstinacy not to sacrifice, but assemblies before day, to s praises to Christ and to God, and to confederate their cipline, prohibiting murder, adultery, violation of faith, other heinous deeds." For the Eucharist is the Sacrament which this discipline of Christianity is established; but from being voluntary to those whom we suppose Ch tians.

Of the confederacy of the primitive Christians.

§ 59. As for Origen, *in Celsum*, i. p. 4[x], it is manifest t those private contracts which Celsus calumniateth that

[r] See chap. xi. sect. 5.

[s] See Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect. 40.

[t] P. 24. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

[u] Hanc lectionem, quam e MSS. reposuimus, confirmant ipsa Plinii verba. —Tertull. Apolog. edit. Desideri Heraldi Comm. p. 19. Lutet. Paris. 1613. The common reading is sacris. Se also saith,—Ita enim ex MSS. emendavit vir Clarissimus Deside Heraldus et nunc ita legitur in Ri tianis: aliis codicibus ibi 'sac male habentibus.—De Synedr. H lib. i. cap. viii. p. 131. Amstel. 16

[x] Tom. i. pp. 319, 320. ed. Ben.

Christians made amongst themselves as against the state, are acknowledged by him to have been those that were solemnized at their feasts of love; that is, at the Eucharist, which from the beginning was a part of them, whether then it were so or not. And therefore the confederacy of Christians among themselves, whom these authors speak of, was no otherwise voluntary than Christianity, and therefore not voluntary supposing it. The words of Origen, *καὶ βούλεται διαβαλεῖν τὴν καλουμένην ἀγάπην Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κινδύνου ὑφισταμένην, καὶ δυναμένην ὑπερόρκια*· which I do not admit to be well corrected, *ὑπὲρ ὄργια*[y], as being too obscure an expression for so clear a writer as Origen to say that it was of force to do more mischief than the Bacchanalia; —which for that jealousy were put down, as we understand by Livy[z];—besides that he must have said *ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄργια*, and not have used a general word for a particular. And therefore I suppose he alludes to the verse of Homer[a], *ὑπερόρκια δηλήσαντο*, meaning *δυναμένην ὑπερόρκια δηλήσασθαι*, dissolving, by private confederacy, that public league and bond wherein the peace of every commonwealth consisteth. Thus then saith Origen: "And he seeks to calumniate the love, so called, of Christians towards one another, as subsisting at the peril of the public, and able to do the mischief of disloyalty."

§ 60. If this will not serve the turn, but it be demanded that the communion of the Church was then frequented by voluntary agreement, let me demand whether the authority of the Apostles in the Church subsisted upon no other title. For as to the credit of them in delivering the Gospel, believing

[y] Ubi pro voce hac nihili legendum dum putabam *ὑπὲρ ὅρκια*, consulentem me monuit vir doctissimus Patricius Junius *ὑπὲρ ὄργια* substituendum.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. ix. p. 162. Amstel. 1679.

[z] Consulibus ambobus quæstio de clandestinis conjurationibus decreta est. Græcus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit, nulla cum arte earum, quas multas ad animorum corporumque cultum nobis eruditissima omnium gens invexit; sacrificulus et vates: nec is qui aperta religione propalam et quæstum et disciplinam profitendo, animos horrore imbueret, [illegible] tistes sacrorum. Initia erant, quæ primo paucis tradita sunt: deinde vulgari cœpta per viros mulieresque. Additæ voluptates religioni vini et epularum, quo plurium animi illicerentur.—Lib. xxxix. cap. viii. p. 196.

Datum deinde consulibus negotium est, ut omnia Bacchanalia Romæ primum, deinde per totam Italiam dirurent: extra quam si qua ibi vetusta ara, aut signum consecratum esset.—*Ib.*, cap. xviii. p. 207. Amstelædami, 1710.

[a] *Ἀλλ' οἵπερ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσαντο.*—Iliad. iv. 236.

BOOK I. what God had given them to evidence it with, it is not possible for any man that pretends to be a Christian to question it. If then it be said, that they who were tied to believe them concerning the truth of the Gospel were not bound to receive them as chief governors of the Church; let me demand how it came to pass that those were received all over the Church, whom, it was believed, that they had granted their authority to, or what part soever of it. There being no obligation to tie them to receive such afore others; and the variety of judgment which all men are subject to being such, as never to agree in the same reason where nothing obliges. So, likewise, whereas it is manifest that the Church then both had, and must needs have, many rules, the general importance whereof was received by all, though with particular differences according to times and places; I demand how any such could come in force, when neither the Jews deserved that love, that all should embrace them for their sake, nor the judgments of all Christians, so different in all things, could concur in any thing which their Christianity importeth not.

§ 61. Especially I demand this concerning the endowment of the Church, because it is evident, that as Constantine, first, made good by the empire all the acts of them that had given whatsoever was ravished away by the persecution of Diocletian, then gave much more of his own; so all kingdoms and commonwealths, after the example of that empire, have proceeded to endow it with the first-fruits of their goods in houses, and glebes, and tithes, and oblations. I demand then what imposture could have been then so powerful, as to seduce all the Christian world in a matter so nearly concerning their interest, had they not stood convict by the constant practice of Christendom before Constantine, that it was no imposture more than the Christianity brought in by the same Apostles.

§ 62. Lastly, whereas it is acknowledged what strange severity of discipline the primitive Church was under, by the rules of penance which then were in force—though I have shewed in another place[b] that they were yet stricter under the Apostles, and that the severity of them necessarily abated, as the zeal of Christianity under them did abate—I demand what common sense can allow that all Christians should agree

[b] Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 21.

to make themselves fools, by submitting themselves to such rules, which nothing but their own consent could oblige them to embrace. For neither can it be said that they had them from the Jews, nor, had they been extant among them, that the Christians would have received them for their sake.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THAT POWER WHICH WAS IN CHURCHES UNDER THE APOSTLES CAN NEVER BE IN ANY CHRISTIAN SOVEREIGN. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE SYNAGOGUE IN THAT REGARD. THE INTEREST OF THE SECULAR POWER IN DETERMINING MATTERS OF FAITH PRESUPPOSETH THE SOCIETY OF THE CHURCH, AND THE ACT OF IT. NO MAN CAN BE BOUND TO PROFESS THE CONTRARY OF THAT WHICH HE BELIEVETH. EVERY MAN IS BOUND TO PROFESS THAT CHRISTIANITY WHICH HE BELIEVETH. THE CHURCH IS THE CHIEF TEACHER OF CHRISTIANITY THROUGH CHRISTENDOM, AS THE SOVEREIGN OF CIVIL PEACE, THROUGH HIS DOMINIONS. WHY THE CHURCH IS TO DECIDE MATTERS OF FAITH RATHER THAN THE STATE, NEITHER BEING INFALLIBLE.

That power which was in Churches under the Apostles can never be in any Christian sovereign.

I SHALL not now need to say much to those terms which the Leviathan holds, beside that which hath been already said, to evidence the society of the whole Church, and the foundation thereof, by the Scriptures. He that acknowledges in the Church a power[c] to judge of true repentance, and, accordingly, to bind and to loose—and that upon the same score, and therefore to the same effect, as it baptizes—together with the power of appointing public persons in the Church; and the Church in which he acknowledges the power to be the body of Christians in each city; by what title doth he suppose the Church to hold this power or this right, the evidence whereof he fetches from the Scriptures, whereby he proveth it? For those Scriptures do not import by what act it is established, but only that it was in force, or use, at the doing of those things which they relate. Can it be imagined to be any thing else than the act of the Apostles, declaring the will of God in that behalf?

§ 2. If then by divine right—that is, by God's appointment and ordinance imported by those Scriptures—the Church, that is, the body of Christians in each city, stands endowed with those rights, how shall the Church, that is, the sovereign

[c] xi. sectt. 9, 10.

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power of each state, stand endowed with the same rights by the same title, that is, by God's appointment, evidenced by the same Scriptures? How shall God's law, that enableth the body of the Church to bind and to loose, to nominate and elect, public persons in the Church—but requireth the Apostles and those that hold under them to pronounce the sentence, and to impose hands—enable the sovereign power to do the same, and yet require those that claim from the Apostles to execute? If philosophers have the privilege to justify such contradictions as these, then may this opinion pass for a truth.

§ 3. In the mean time, to men of common reason, how reasonable it will be found that the Apostles—being employed by God to order these things in the Church, and that for the maintenance of Christianity received—should tie themselves to execute those acts which the body of Christians in each city should determine to be for the maintenance of that Christianity which they knew nothing what belonged to, but what they had learned from them, the Apostles; I am well content to refer myself to judgment. But always there remains, or may remain, a difference between the bodies of Christians in several cities, and the sovereign powers over them; so that the rights of both cannot be derived from one and the same title. Sad experience shews that Churches may continue where the sovereign powers are not Christians, as they subsisted before they were.

[Christian kings can have no ecclesiastical jurisdiction.]

§ 4. Shall these sovereign powers give sentence of binding and loosing, and appoint persons to be ordained, and those that claim under the Apostles be bound to execute? Shall the great Turk have power to officiate and minister the Sacraments of divine service in the Church, because whatsoever a man may do by his minister he may do in his own person much more; as this opinion, pp. 297, 298, 299[d], expressly

[d] "But if every Christian sovereign be the supreme pastor of his own subjects, it seemeth that he hath also the authority, not only to preach—which perhaps no man will deny—but also to baptize and to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to consecrate both temples and pastors to God's service.....

"There is no doubt but any king, in case he were skilful in the sciences, might by the same right of his office, read lectures of them himself, by which he authorizeth others to read them in the universities.

"The reason therefore why Christian kings use not to baptize, is evident, and the same, for which at this day there are few baptized by Bishops, and by the Pope fewer.

"From this consolidation of the right politic and ecclesiastic in Christian sovereigns, it is evident, they have all manner of power over their subjects

disputes that the sovereign may do, and that employment of more public consequence is the only reason why he doth not? It is said, indeed, p. 299[e], that he that had power to teach before he was a Christian, being baptized, retains the same power to teach Christianity. And so, every sovereign being the chief master, to teach all his subjects whatsoever the peace
147 of his state requires; by being baptized, he gets no new right, but is directed how to use that which he had afore.

§ 5. But if the premises be true, the assumption is ridiculous. A doctor of the synagogue, duly qualified, is not a doctor of the Church, because the Church stands not upon the same terms with the synagogue; doctors and disciples being relative terms of a relation grounded upon the society of the Church or synagogue. The sovereign power teaches, by laws, to keep the public peace[f], though that it should do no more than teach were ridiculous. The Church teaches the way to heaven, and, for that reason, the bond of public peace, not the matter of it. And therefore as no man, by being baptized, getteth the right of teaching by civil laws, so he that hath the right of teaching by civil laws, by being baptized, getteth no right to teach Christianity.

The difference between the Church and the synagogue in that regard.

§ 6. The law of Moses was given to one people, which had covenanted with God to be ruled by it, and upon that condition to be maintained in the land of promise. So the covenant of the law, and the obligation of that people to it, was presupposed before God had declared whom He would make sovereign of that people after Moses. But inasmuch as the determination of all things that became questionable

that can be given to man, for the government of men's external actions, both in policy and religion, and may make such laws as themselves shall judge fittest, for the government of their own subjects, both as they are the commonwealth, and as they are the Church; for both state and Church are the same men."—Hobbes, part iii. chap. 42. London, 1651.

[e] "The use then of this ceremony considered in the ordination of pastors, was to design the person to whom they gave such power. But if there had been then any Christian, that had had the power of teaching before, the baptizing of him, that is, the making him a Christian, had given him no new power, but had only caused him to preach true doctrine, that is, to use his power aright, and therefore the imposition of hands had been unnecessary; baptism itself had been sufficient. But every sovereign, before Christianity, had the power of teaching, and ordaining teachers, and therefore Christianity gave them no new right, but only directed them in the way of teaching truth; and consequently they needed no imposition of hands—beside that which is done in baptism—to authorize them to exercise any part of the pastoral function, as namely to baptize and consecrate."—Hobbes, part iii. chap. 42. London, 1651.

[f] "The obligation Christians have to keep it, not upon what terms it is to be kept."—MSS.

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concerning the law was to come from those powers which were under the sovereign, it is manifest that the act of such power secured the consciences of inferiors. For the promise of the law being the temporal happiness of the land of promise, and the body of the people being, by the law, to depend upon the determination of their superiors—they practising the law according to such determination—the promise thereof must needs remain indefeasible.

§ 7. As for the inward obedience to God's spiritual law, whereupon, as I said[g], they might and did ground a firm hope of everlasting life under the law; it concerned not the consciences of the people how the outward laws were determined, seeing, howsoever they were determined, this inward obedience to God's spiritual law received no hindrance. Though the consciences of superiors, from whom those determinations proceeded, were so much concerned in them, that those who should violate that obedience due to the carnal commandment, by determining it to an unjust intent, could no ways pretend any inward and spiritual obedience.

§ 8. But Christianity, covenanting for this inward and spiritual obedience, and expressing everlasting life as the consideration of it, and particular Churches being constituted upon these terms—and constituting the whole Church, which is nothing but the communion of all Churches—whatsoever rights are acknowledged to be in particular Churches—which the precept of preaching to, and the promise of calling, the Gentiles shews, might be under several sovereignties—being settled in them already by divine right, can never accrue to a sovereignty, though constituted by right, but such as God only alloweth, by commanding government in general, but appointeth not by revealing Himself in particular. And therefore necessarily tend to the constituting of the whole Church by the concurrence of all Churches, though of several sovereignties, to the maintenance of that Christianity in which all had equal interest before any sovereign was Christian.

§ 9. And now I cannot marvel if he that believes not the Scriptures to be law to Christians, otherwise than as they are enjoined by Christian powers[h], acknowledge no power in the Apostles of obliging the Church, or in any body else beside

[g] See chap. xii.

[h] See chap. iii. sect. 34, and chap. xi. sect. 9.

the sovereign. My marvel is, that he who had pretended all this should nevertheless acknowledge a right in several Churches[i]; that is, in the bodies of Christians dwelling within several cities, the power of excommunication and ordination, and that by the Scriptures, that is, by divine right. For whatsoever act it was, or whose act soever it was, whereby those rights were settled upon those Churches, will he or will he not, was a law to those that stood bound to acknowledge such right; which was really nothing, if no man were bound to acknowledge and to yield effect to it.

§ 10. Neither is it marvel if he acknowledge no law for the endowment of the Church[j], that acknowledgeth not the endowment of the Levitical priesthood to have been a law to the Jews, but by the will of the sovereign under the kings.
148 But those that acknowledge that endowment to be God's act, not to be voided so long as the covenant was in force, will have seen as good an argument for the like provision to be made for the Church, as the correspondence between the law and the Gospel will allow any point of Christianity from the old Scriptures. And then, as it hath appeared[k] that several Churches are, by God's appointment, several bodies capable of endowment, constituting one whole Church, which is the body of all Churches; so by the same means, it appears, that what the Church is once endowed with, is as much the Church's, as any man's cloak is his own. And as the giving

[i] See chap. xi. sect. 10.

[j] "From which place [1 Cor. ix. 13.] may be inferred indeed that the pastors of the Church ought to be maintained by their flocks, but not that the pastors were to determine, either the quantity, or the kind, of their own allowance, and be, as it were, their own carvers. Their allowance must needs therefore be determined, either by the gratitude and liberality of every particular man of their flock, or by the whole congregation. By the whole congregation it could not be, because their acts were then no laws: therefore the maintenance of pastors before emperors and civil sovereigns had made laws to settle it, was nothing but benevolence, they that served at the Altar lived on what was offered, so may the pastors also take what is offered them by their flock, but not exact what is not offered. In what court should they sue for it, who had no tribunals? Or if they had arbitrators amongst themselves who should execute their judgments, when they had no power to arm their officers? It remaineth therefore that there could be no certain maintenance assigned to any pastors of the Church, but by the whole congregation; and then only when their decrees should have the force—not only of canons, but also—of laws; which laws could not be made but by emperors, kings, or other civil sovereigns. The right of tithes in Moses's law, could not be applied to the then ministers of the Gospel; because Moses and the high-priests were the civil sovereigns of the people under God, whose kingdom amongst the Jews was present, whereas the kingdom of God by Christ is yet to come."—Hobbes, part iii. chap. 42. p. 294. London, 1651.

[k] Chap. xvi. sects. 39—48.

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of alms in general is not arbitrary to a Christian, but due from all that will be what they profess; so the endowing of the Church to those purposes for which the communion thereof standeth—though called alms, even by the laws of this land—had never prevailed over all Christendom, had not the obligation thereof been a part of our common Christianity.

The interest of the secular power in determining matters of faith presupposeth the society of the Church and the act of it.

§ 11. But now, as concerning the power of determining controversies of faith, I do here insist upon this argument; that because no secular power is enabled by God to determine controversies of faith, therefore God hath provided a society of the Church for preservation of unity among Christians by such determinations as may reasonably satisfy the consciences of those for whom they are made. Though not, in order to any penalty of this world, pretending by outward force to constrain obedience, but only in order to the communion of the Church, that is, to the holding or loosing of it, as a man conforms to the determination or not; all outward force and constraint being acknowledged to proceed from the power of the sword, which the sovereign beareth.

§ 12. This difficulty only the Leviathan answers, they who[1],

[1] "A Christian magistrate, as a Christian magistrate, is a governor in the Church; all magistrates, it is true, are not Christians, but that is their fault, all should be; and when they are, they are to manage their office under and for Christ. Christ hath placed governors in His Church, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Of other governments, beside magistracy, I find no institution, of them I do, Rom. xiii. 1, 2. I find all government given to Christ, and to Christ as mediator—I desire all to consider it—Ephes. i. 3, last verse. And Christ as head of these given to the Church. To rob the kingdom of Christ of the magistrate, and his governing power, I cannot excuse, no, not from a kind of sacrilege, if the magistrate be His. But of this elsewhere."—Coleman's Sermon at the Monthly Fast, July 30, 1645. pp. 27, 28. London, 1645.

"If this be presbyterian government, the Lord save our kingdom from it; and grant to me to spend the remainder of my days under such a magistracy as manage the same under Christ, and for Christ."—Coleman's Brotherly Examination Re-examined, p. 21. London, 1646.

Dr. Arnold gives expression to the same theory as follows;—"Now believing with the Archbishop of Dublin, that there is in the Christian Church neither priesthood nor divine succession of governors, and believing with Mr. Gladstone that the state's highest objects are moral and not physical, I cannot but wonder that these two truths are in each of their systems divorced from their proper mates. The Church freed from the notions of priesthood and Apostolical succession, is divested of all unchristian and tyrannical power; but craves by reason of its subordinate condition the power of sovereign government, that power which the forms of a free state can alone supply healthfully. And the state having sovereign power, and also, as Mr. Gladstone allows, having a moral end paramount to all others, is at once fit to do the work of the Church perfectly, so soon as it becomes Christian; nor can it abandon its responsibility, and surrender its conscience up into the hands of a priesthood, who have no knowledge superior to its own, and who cannot exercise its sovereignty. The Christian king, or council, or assembly, excludes the interference of the priesthood; the Church without a priesthood, craves its

denying the power of excommunication, dissolve the communion of the Church and the society thereof into the community of a Christian commonwealth, contenting themselves to name godly magistrates[m]—which term I use not because incompatible to the sovereign—or Christian powers—as if their godliness or Christianity did entitle them to this power—though it might have concerned them to shew how the profession of Christianity comes to oblige Christian subjects to the determinations of Christian or godly powers, if they would not be thought to beg the question which they tie themselves to answer. For I also say, that all Christians stand bound to the decrees of godly powers, because, I suppose—and the presumption of piety implies them to suppose—that it is a part of godliness to profess one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the unity whereof, once professed, obliges a private Christian to be of it, a public person to maintain it: which if the sovereign do, then must he maintain those persons who, by the society of the Church, have right to act in behalf of the Church, both in doing their duty and in giving force to their acts.

§ 13. For I acknowledge—as I have already done[n]—two points of that right which secular power hath, in the acting of Church matters: the first is that which the trust of secular power importeth in all matters; as they hold it not by their Christianity, and therefore not by the Church, so that they suffer it not to be invaded upon pretence of Christianity and the power of the Church. For as experience hath shewed that there may be such pretences, so the reasons whereupon I ground the society and right of sovereign power, shew that Christianity abridgeth not the sovereign power in any thing that may concern the public peace.

§ 14. The second arises from Christianity, which, as it

Christian assembly, or council, or king.

. . . . "I would unite one half of the Archbishop of Dublin's theory with one half of Mr. Gladstone's; agreeing cordially with Mr. Gladstone in the moral theory of the state, and agreeing as cordially with the Archbishop with what I will venture to call the Christian theory of the Church, and deducing from the two the conclusion that the perfect state and the perfect Church are identical."—Lectures on History, pp. 65, 66. Oxford, 1842.

[m] "I do not use the term magistrate, because in the Roman law a magistrate is not a sovereign; I find fault with the term of Christian powers as insufficient to press the ground of the right in question."—MSS.

[n] Right of the Church, chap. iv. sects. 5, 6. Review, chap. iv. sects. 1—3. See also chap. xi. sects. 35—38, above.

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giveth all Christians an interest both in all Christian tru and in the communion of the Church as the common birt right of Christians, so it giveth public powers a public inter in the maintenance of the same; that is, of all truth whi the Church, by the acts of the Church—done by the pow of the Church for the preservation of Christianity—stan possessed of, and of all laws whereby the communion of t Church in the service of God according to Christianity is du maintained. But this interest presupposeth, therefore, society of the Church, by the acts whereof Christian tru and the unity of the Church is to be maintained; and impor eth in the sovereign a right to constrain even those that a in behalf of the Church, not to transgress their own profe sion, that is, either the due power of determining things que tionable, which the society of the Church inferreth, or t acts which have been duly done by the same.

No man can be bound to profess the contrary of that which he believeth.

§ 15. Therefore not supposing this society—that is, su an act of the Church as it may be evident that the soverei may or ought to maintain, because it may be evident th the Church transgresses not those grounds which it profes —and supposing controversies among Christians about Chr tianity; I say the secular power can have no right to det mine them, that is—to oblige those that are under th power to stand to the determination which they shall ma —unless we do grant that by their Christianity they may obliged to believe one thing, and by their allegiance to p fess another.

§ 16. For seeing there be sovereigns that profess Chri anity, whereof some are of the Eastern, others of the West Church, and, of these, some of the communion of the Chu of Rome, others that are departed from it; some Calvini others Lutherans—and Socinus's sect, no man knows h soon some sovereign may follow—beside new religions t appear; how shall the common profession of piety or Ch tianity oblige several nations to obey those laws, wher several sovereignties may establish things contrary to Chri anity, but by obliging them to profess contrary to what t believe? For what contradictions soever are held am Christians, nevertheless they are sensible that no man's priv spirit, that is, any evidence of Christian truth in the mind

one man, can oblige another man to follow it, because it imports no evidence to make that which he thinks he sees appear to others.

§ 17. What becomes then of the Christianity of Christian subjects, obliging them to stand to the determination of their sovereigns in all things questionable? If the sovereign power have right to limit all that is questionable, this right will create an obligation of professing and doing the contrary of that which Christianity will oblige a man to believe, and to think fit to be done; unless all the subjects of each sovereign have the strange hap to believe as their sovereigns in all things questionable. Besides, if the sovereign power have right to determine them, it will be impossible to shew a reason why this power, in him that is no Christian, should not have the same right; seeing it is plain that the common profession of Christianity, being in sovereigns that command contrary things, does it not, and the sovereign power which remains is the same in those that are not Christians as in those that are.

§ 18. And therefore I conceive that the Leviathan hath done like a philosopher in this[o], to object unto himself the greatest of those difficulties that his opinion is liable to; and hath but pursued his own principles when he inquires what a Christian should do, when a sovereign that is no Christian commands him to renounce Christianity. For when he argueth[p] that every sovereign, by being a sovereign, is the chief teacher of his people—whom it is manifest that sovereigns teach not but by their laws or commands—but that Christianity only enableth to use this power right; he must know that there is no power that will not oblige when it is used amiss, though not to all purposes, yet to all within the compass of it. So that if Christianity only enable Christian sovereigns to determine matters of religion right, the power of determining will be the same in the great Turk—supposing him a lawful prince—as in any Christian sovereign. And if his act oblige the Christians under him, being well used, why not ill used, the power being the same?

Every man is bound to profess

§ 19. But though I commend him as a philosopher for charging his own opinion with the greatest difficulties, when

[o] See chap. ii. sect. 10. note l

[p] See chap. xii. sect. 3. note k.

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that Christianity which he believeth.

he answers that a Christian in that case shall stand bound to reserve the belief of his Christianity to himself, for satisfaction of his conscience, but to profess or act outwardly as his sovereign commands; I must so much detest this answer for a Christian, that I cannot conceive any thing so destructive to the foundation of Christianity hath been published among Christian people since the time of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, who, when Christianity was not protected, would do this, and yet pretend to be Christians. Only the difference is, that he does it not, but declares himself free to do it if the sovereign commands it. Which, though it may seem to preserve him the quality of a Christian, yet it is to be considered that by so declaring himself he recalleth that solemn vow, promise, and profession upon which he was admitted to baptism, or made a Christian in the Church of England. For he that is free to renounce the faith at the command of his sovereign, cannot be bound by the promise of professing it unto death.

[Difference between heresy and apostasy.]

§ 20. If therefore it prove that this promise is the substance of our whole Christianity, he will prove an apostate; if only part of it, an heretic. But I perceive he is well enough aware of the interest of his opinion, for love whereof he waives the interest of Christianity. For as all divines have made the profession of Christianity the outward act of faith, the inward act whereof is to believe; so upon this profession—the visible act of Christianity—the visible society of the Church is built, which there is no pretence for if this be not commanded, nor against if it be. This profession, solemnized by the visible though mystical act of baptism—that is, signifying more to the understanding than the mere sight of the eyes can evidence—being, as St. Augustine[q] argues, nothing else but the entering or dedicating of a Christian unto God in that visible body of religion which the profession of Christianity designs.

[q] Ore confessio fit ad salutem. Si ergo vis ambulare viam Domini, etiam in conspectu hominum spera in Deum, id est, noli erubescere de spe tua. Quomodo vivit in corde tuo, sic habitet in ore tuo: quia non sine causa signum suum Christus in fronte nobis figi voluit, tanquam in sede pudoris, ne Christi opprobria Christianus erubescat.

Hoc ergo in conspectu hominum si feceris, si inde coram hominibus non erubueris, si in conspectu filiorum hominum nec ore nec factis Christum negaveris: spera tibi perfici dulcedinem Dei.—Enarr. in Psalm. xxx. § 7. tom. iv. col. 165. ed. Ben.

The Church is the chief teacher of Christianity through Christendom, as the sovereign of civil peace.

§ 21. Which consideration sets right the mistake that is commended to us from a true principle[r], that sovereign powers are the chief teachers of their people. For the relation, offices, and interests of teachers and scholars do not subsist but upon supposition of some certain society contracted between masters and scholars; as may appear by the instance of masters and apprentices, the society between whom is grounded upon a contract of learning the trade. And no man denies that there is a society between sovereign powers and their people lawfully to be contracted; and that this society makes the sovereigns masters and teachers, and the people their scholars, if it be rightly understood: though that it should make them no more would be an imagination so absurd, that he is not far from that absurdity who takes notice of no more, seeing all teachers cannot make their scholars learn as sovereigns can do. But this relation must be limited by the ground of civil society, which is of necessity no more than civil life; though the grace of God by Christ addeth unto it a capacity of advancing everlasting life by maintaining the profession of Christianity, which is merely accessory to it, as appears by all those commonwealths that never were Christian. And therefore that which civil society teacheth is no more than that civil conversation which the maintenance of civil society requireth.

§ 22. If therefore there be any such thing as a relation of teacher and scholar in Christianity—which this argument supposeth that there is, seeing that the common quality of Christian is no ground at all of that difference which the different denominations of teacher and scholar suppose—of necessity it followeth that there must be a society of the Church, upon supposition whereof the qualities and relations of teachers and scholars in Christianity are grounded and subsist. Which relations, which society, did they not suppose Christianity to come from God, but to be a religion either invented by the sovereign—as Mahometanism by the first founder of that power under which Mahometan princes now claim—or enforced by the powers that profess it—as heathenism—then were it essentially a law of that civil society, the act whereof is all that obligation by which it standeth.

4. above, note d.

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§ 23. And truly he that should believe Christianity to be no more than a religion taken up as a means to govern people in civil peace—which is not only the opinion of Macchiavellians[s], if any such there be, who, by believing no more of that religion which they profess, signify that they believe no more of God or of religion at all, but also of those philosophers, if any such there be, who do admit a religion of all maxims which nature and reason hath taught all men to agree in, but that which supposeth revelation from above only as the religion of their country, not as true—I say, he that should believe this, must necessarily believe nothing of the Church more than the sovereign power shall make it. But as he that makes outward profession to be no part of it, can never give account how the inward belief of it could be maintained 151 and propagated to the world's end, as I suppose all Christians agree that God would have Christianity; so he that leaves the determination of all matters questioned in Christianity to the secular power that is sovereign—by dissolving the society of the Church into the commonwealth that is Christian, and that without limitation, because by God's law—he must by consequence oblige men to profess that, as the means of salvation, which the interest of state shall oblige every sovereign to think necessary for the preservation of it.

Why the Church is to decide matters of faith rather than the state, neither being infallible.

§ 24. And that is the answer that I shall make to him who shall object the same inconvenience to me, that the determinations of the Church are subject to fail; to wit, that there are three points of difference between it and the secular power, in consideration whereof it is reasonable to believe that God should provide a society of the Church for the maintenance of Christianity, notwithstanding that he leaves them subject to fail. The first, because this right cannot be said to be assigned the sovereign power by the Scriptures. For in the Scriptures of the New Testament there is no men-

[s] Deve adunque avere un principe, gran cura che non gli esca mai di bocca una cosa che non sia piena delle soprascritte cinque qualità e paia à vederlo e udirlo tutto pietà, tutto integrità, tutto umanità, tutto religione. E non è cosa più necessaria a parere d' avere, che quest' ultima qualità; perche gli uomini in universale giudicano più agli occhi che alle mani, perchè tocca à vedere à ciascuno, à sentirè à pochi: ognuno vede quel che tu pari, pochi sentono quel che tu sei, e quelli pochi non ardiscono opporsi alla opinione de' molti, che abbino la maestà dello stato che gli difende; et nelle azioni di tutti gli uomini, et massime de' principi—dove non è guidizio à chi reclamare—si guarda al fine.—Machiavelli, Il Principe, cap. xviii. p. 456. Firenze, 1782.

tion made of sovereign powers that were Christian. And as for the Old Testament, if any man argue[t] that the power which the kings of God's ancient people had in matters of religion, the same Christian princes have in Church matters, not only answer hath been made by denying the consequence[u], but also evident reason hath been drawn, from the difference between the law and the Gospel, why the consequence holds not. The second, because the supposition of a society of the Church imports in it means of determining matters controverted in Christianity, which the dissolution of ecclesiastical power into the secular voideth[x]. The third, because those means of determining matters of Christianity will infer a limitation of that obligation which the determinations of the Church produce in them that are subject to them, merely upon this ground, that they cannot produce any effect beyond the means upon which they proceed.

[t] In Israële enim populo suo, regnum instituit Deus, et Ecclesiam in regno, ex mente sua. Exemplum inde nobis sumendum est, cum in Testamento Novo nullum habeamus. Nusquam ibi in unum coaluerunt Ecclesia et imperium; procul se habuit imperium ab Ecclesia. Quare quæ penes regem in religione partes sint, inde nobis petendæ; ubi gemellæ quasi sunt et amice conspirant, politia et Ecclesia; non ubi secedunt a se invicem. Ab illo igitur fonte Israëlis arcessimus hanc causam, et ab eo exemplo—ubi simul sunt, ubi Ecclesia in regno—Ecclesiæ, regnique nostri regimen informamus. In Israële autem, nondum os reperi tam durum, quod negare etiam auderet, præcipuas in re religionis partes, penes regem extitisse: vel uno hoc argumento, quod per Sacræ Historiæ seriem totam, mutato novi regis animo, mutata semper est facies religionis. Eaque in religione mutatio regi semper ascribitur, quasi factum ejus. Nec pontifices unquam vel præstare poterant, ut fieret mutatio in melius, vel ne fieret in pejus, impedire. Penes eos autem, si religionis tum summa fuisset, aliquis aliquando Pontifex, etiam rege secus affecto, præstitisset hoc tamen, ut cultum Dei illibatum, pars aliqua populi saltem, retineret.—Tortura Torti, pp. 363, 364. Londini, 1609.

Nos vero Testamentum Novum a Vetere non divellimus, ex utroque jus regum astruimus. Habuerunt reges in Vetere primatum suum, atque inde nervi sunt, et lacerti causæ nostræ. In Novo autem, deteriore jure non sunt. Sub eadem ergo conditione, idem illis primatus debetur, idem reddendus est. Tu vero Torte ne sic ludas Scripturæ locis, quæ—utcunque ludas illis—non potes eludere; et utcunque abuti potes patientia, at judicio lectoris non potes. Sentit enim hæc ludicra non esse, serio rem agi; adeo stabiliri illis primatum, vel tu succutiendo non sis. Ecclesia vero Catholica, tantum abest ut eum primatum detestata sit; ut Carolum, ut Ludovicum rectores religionis, actis publicis conciliaribus, dixerit, scripserit. Inter rectorem vero et gubernatorem quid interest? Aut si nulla ei vox satis est nisi gubernatoris, legat in synodo sua octava Basilium gubernatorem universalis navis ecclesiasticæ. Calvinus autem ut Papam regem, ita regem Papam non probavit; neque nos quod in Papa detestamur, in rege approbamus. At et ille nobiscum, et nos cum illo sentimus, easdem esse in Ecclesia Christiana regis Jacobi partes, quæ Josiæ fuerunt in Judaica nec nos ultra quicquam fieri ambimus. —*Ib.*, p. 379. Londini, 1609.

[u] See above, sects. 6—8.

[x] "Can it be imagined that a society can be constituted upon such terms as to break upon the first difference that ariseth; for want of means to decide that difference?"—MSS.

BOOK I.

§ 25. And these two differences, as I have begun to open according as the subject of this discourse hath ministered occasion to do it—having hitherto removed this opinion, that makes the Church nothing in the nature of a society, nor the act thereof to have any force but that which the sovereign power allows; and coming now to determine the means of discerning between true and false in things questionable concerning Christianity, together with the effect of the determinations of the Church—I shall have occasion to determine more distinctly in that which follows[y]. Which being done, it will be time to limit the due bounds by which the secular and ecclesiastical power are to concur, in the establishment of things to be determined to Christian states and kingdoms in the matter of Christianity. Which will be the due place to meet with that objection which is so hotly pursued in the first book *de Synedriis*, cap. x.[z], that the excommunications of the Church have been always thought liable, in Christian commonwealths, to be limited by the secular power; and therefore that there is no excommunication by divine right. Which objection, if it have any force, must hold in all parts and rights of ecclesiastical power as well as in one.

[y] "remains"—MSS. Bk. iii. chap. xxxii.

[z] See chap. xi. sect. 16. Accedant hic commentarii satis numerosi virorum e Gallis clarissimorum de potestate regia et ecclesiastica conscripti, quos habes ad edictum Henrici secundi, et in tomis illis binis de libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ dudum editis, alibique satis obvios. Et quantum ad Anglos nostros; ut de moribus et jure recepto, eoque tam ab ecclesiasticis hic quam laicis publice agnito, circa excommunicationis, tam inter reformatos quam alios, usum in Anglia ex ante allatis palam constat, ita etiam, de singularium scriptorum doctissimorum sententiis omnino censoriis, ex ipsorum monumentis passim prostantibus; quibus jus illud supremarum potestatum moderamine, prout regiminis publici ratio postulaverit, temperandum laxandumve fusius asseritur. . . . . Haud pauca huc spectantia occurrunt in libris, de *Primatu Regio* et de *Potestate Papæ et Regia* adversus Bellarminos, Tortos, Becanos, Eudæmon-Johannes, Suarezios, id genus cæteris sub Jacobo maxime rege, etiam ab ipso nonnullis conscriptis, et passim prostantibus, in quibus fuse et nervosissime asseritur jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam dictam, adeoque excommunicationem inde pendentem, pro moribus legibusque regni Angliæ aliter atque aliter per sæcula se habentibus, et juxta regis moderamina ex lege regia nec alio modo legitime exercendam. Nec ipsam quidem clavium potestatem nec actum excommunicandi, regi tribuunt, sed ut caput et moderatorem et gubernatorem, juxta regni leges, ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis forensis—nam de privatis hic actibus hoc nomine interdum venientibus, qui ordinis sunt seu functionis, non loquimur—eum satis agnoscunt. Et juxta leges illas earumque usum humano arbitrio, adeoque invento, niti censuras forenses indeque temperari, restringi, aboleri ex superius dictis manifesto liquet.—P. 231. Amstelædami, 1679.

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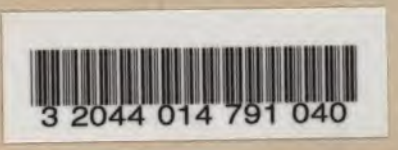

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